THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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BOOK V.

THE account of the cruel manner in which the Pope had been treated, filled all Europe with aſtoniſhment or horror. To ſee a Chriſtian Emperor, who, by poſſeſſing that dignity, ought to have been the protector and advocate of the holy ſee, lay violent hands on him who repreſented Chriſt on earth, and detain his ſacred perſon in a rigorous captivity, was conſidered as an impiety that merited the ſevereſt vengeance, and which called for the immediate interpoſition of every dutiful ſon of the church. Francis and Henry, alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperial arms in Italy, had, even before the taking of Rome, entered into a cloſer alliance; and, in order to give ſome check to the Emperor's ambition, had agreed to make a vigorous diverſion in the Low-Countries. The force of every motive which had influenced them at that time, was now increaſed; and to theſe were added, the deſire of reſcuing the Pope out of the Emperor's hands, a meaſure no leſs political, than it appeared to be pious. This, however, rendered it neceſſary to abandon their deſigns on the Low-Countries, and to make Italy the ſeat of war, as it was by vigorous operati-

1527. General indignation excited againſt the Emperor.

Book V. 1527. ons in that country, they might promiſe moſt certainly upon delivering Rome, and ſetting Clement at liberty. Francis being now ſenſible, that in his ſyſtem with regard to the affairs of Italy, the ſpirit of refinement had carried him too far; and that, by an exceſs of remiſſneſs, he had allowed Charles to attain advantages which he might eaſily have prevented, was eager to make reparation for an error for which he was not often guilty, by an activity more ſuitable to his temper. Henry thought his interpoſition neceſſary, in order to hinder the Emperor from becoming maſter of all Italy, and acquiring by that means ſuch ſuperiority of power, as would enable him, for the future, to dictate without controul to the other princes of Europe. Wolſey, whom Francis had taken care to ſecure by flattery and preſents, the certain methods of gaining his favour, neglected nothing that could incenſe his maſter againſt the Emperor. Beſides all theſe public conſiderations, Henry was influenced by one of a more private nature; having begun about this time to form his great ſcheme of divorcing Catharine of Aragon, towards the execution of which he knew that the ſanction of Papal authority would be neceſſary, he was deſirous to acquire as much merit as poſſible with Clement, by appearing to be the chief inſtrument of his deliverance.

onfederacy againſt him. July 11. THE negotiation, between princes thus diſpoſed, was not tedious. Wolſey himſelf conducted it, on the part of his ſovereign, with unbounded powers. Francis treated with him in perſon at Amiens, where the Cardinal appeared, and was received with royal magnificence. A marriage between the duke of Orleans and the princeſs Mary was agreed to as the baſis of the confederacy; it was reſolved that Italy ſhould be the theatre of war; the ſtrength of the army which ſhould take the field, and the contingent of troops or of money which each prince ſhould furniſh, were ſettled; and if the Emperor did not accept of the propoſals they were jointly to make him, they bound themſelves immediately to declare war, and to begin hoſtilities. Aug. 18. Henry, who took every reſolution with impetuoſity, entered ſo eagerly into this new alliance, that in order to give Francis the ſtrongeſt proof of his friendſhip and reſpect, he formerly renounced the ancient claim of the Engliſh Monarchs to the crown of France, which had long been the pride and ruin of the nation; as a full compenſation for which, he accepted a penſion of

fifty

fifty thouſand crowns, to be paid annually to himſelf and his ſucceſſors *. Book V.

1527.

The Florentines recover their freedom.

Meanwhile the Pope, being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, remained a priſoner under the ſevere cuſtody of Alarcon. The Florentines no ſooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner; expelled the Cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the Pope's name; defaced the arms of the Medici; broke in pieces the ſtatues of Leo and Clement; and declaring themſelves a free ſtate, re-eſtabliſhed their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally the Pope, ſeized Ravenna, and other places belonging to the church, under pretext of keeping them in depoſite. The dukes of Urbino and Ferrara, laid hold likewiſe on part of the ſpoils of the unfortunate Pontiff, whom they conſidered as irretrievably ruined †.

The Imperial troops inactive.

Lannoy, on the other hand, laboured to derive ſome ſolid benefit from that unforeſeen event, which gave ſuch ſplendour and ſuperiority to his maſter's arms. For this purpoſe he marched to Rome, together with Moncada, and the marquis del Guaſto, at the head of all the troops they could aſſemble in the kingdom of Naples. The arrival of this reinforcement brought new calamities on the unhappy citizens of Rome; for the ſoldiers envying the wealth of their companions, imitated their licenſe, and with the utmoſt rapacity gathered the gleanings, which had eſcaped the avarice of the Spaniards and Germans. There was not now any army in Italy capable of making head againſt the Imperialiſts; and nothing more was requiſite to reduce Bologna, and the other towns in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, than to have appeared before them. But the ſoldiers having been ſo long accuſtomed, under Bourbon, to an entire relaxation of diſcipline, and having taſted the ſweets of living at diſcretion in a great city, almoſt without the controul of a ſuperior, were become ſo impatient of military ſubordination, and ſo averſe to ſervice, that they refuſed to leave Rome, unleſs all their arrears were paid; a condition which they knew to be impoſſible; and declared that they would not obey any other perſon than the prince of Orange, whom the army had

* Herbert, 83, &c. Rym. Fœder. 14. 203.
† Guic. l. 18. 453.

Book V. 1527. choſen general. Lannoy, finding that it was no longer ſafe for him to remain among licentious troops who deſpiſed his dignity, and hated his perſon, returned to Naples; ſoon after the marquis del Guaſto and Moncada thought it prudent to quit Rome for the ſame reaſon. The prince of Orange, a general only in name, and by the moſt precarious of all tenures, the good will of ſoldiers whom ſucceſs and licenſe had rendered capricious, was obliged to pay more attention to their humours, than they did to his commands. Thus the Emperor, inſtead of reaping any of the advantages he might have expected from the reduction of Rome, had the mortification to ſee the moſt formidable body of troops he had ever brought into the field, continue in a ſtate of inactivity from which it was impoſſible to rouze them *.

The French army marches into Italy.

THIS gave the King of France and the Venetians leiſure to form new ſchemes, and to enter into new engagements for the delivering the Pope, and preſerving the liberties of Italy. The newly reſtored republic of Florence very imprudently joined with them, and Lautrec, of whoſe abilities the Italians entertained a much more favourable opinion than his own maſter, was, in order to gratify them, appointed generaliſſimo of the league. It was with the utmoſt reluctance he undertook that office, being unwilling to expoſe himſelf a ſecond time to the difficulties and diſgraces which the negligence of the King, or the malice of his favourites might bring upon him. The beſt troops in France marched under his command, and the King of England, though he had not yet declared war againſt the Emperor, advanced a conſiderable ſum towards carrying on the expedition. Lautrec's firſt operations were prudent, vigorous, and ſucceſsful. By the aſſiſtance of Andrew Doria, the ableſt ſea officer of that age, he rendered himſelf maſter of Genoa, and re-eſtabliſhed in that republic the faction of the Fregoſi, together with the dominion of France. He obliged Alexandria to ſurrender after a ſhort ſiege, and reduced all the country on that ſide of the Teſino. He took Pavia, which had ſo long reſiſted the arms of his ſovereign, by aſſault, and plundered it with that cruelty which the memory of the fatal diſaſter that had befallen the French nation before its walls naturally inſpired. All the

His operations.

* Guic. l. 18. 454.

Milaneſe,

Milaneſe, which Antonia de Leyva defended with a ſmall body of troops kept together and ſupported by his own addreſs and induſtry, muſt have ſoon ſubmitted to his power, if he had continued to bend the force of his arms againſt that country. But Lautrec durſt not compleat a conqueſt which would have been ſo honourable to himſelf, and of ſuch advantage to the league. Francis knew his confederates to be more deſirous of circumſcribing the Imperial power in Italy, than of acquiring new territories for him, and was afraid that if Sforza was once re-eſtabliſhed in Milan, he would ſecond but coldly the attack which he intended to make on the kingdom of Naples. For this reaſon he inſtructed Lautrec not to puſh his operations with too much vigour in Lombardy; and happily the importunities of the Pope, and the ſolicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief, and the other for protection, were ſo urgent as afforded him a decent pretext to march forward without yielding to the entreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who inſiſted on his laying ſiege to Milan *. Book V. 1527.

WHILE Lautrec advanced ſlowly towards Rome, the Emperor had time to deliberate concerning the diſpoſal of the Pope's perſon, who ſtill remained a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Notwithſtanding the ſpecious veil of religion with which he uſually endeavoured to cover his actions, Charles, in many inſtances, appears to have been but little under the influence of religious conſiderations, and had frequently on this occaſion expreſſed an inclination to tranſport the Pope into Spain, that he might indulge his ambition with the ſpectacle of the two moſt illuſtrious perſonages in Europe ſucceſſively priſoners in his court. But the fear of giving new offence to all Chriſtendom, and of filling his own ſubjects with horror, obliged him to forego that ſatisfaction †. The progreſs of the confederates made it now neceſſary either to ſet the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to ſome place of confinement more ſecure than the caſtle of St. Angelo. Many conſiderations induced him to prefer the former, particularly his want of the money requiſite as well for recruiting his army, as for paying off the vaſt arrears due to it. In order to obtain this he had aſſembled the Cortes Feb. 11. The Emperor ſets the Pope at liberty.

* Guic. l. xviii. p. 461. de Bellay, 170, &c. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii. 238.

† Guic. l. 18. 457.

Book V. 1527. of Caſtile at Valladolid about the beginning of the year, and having laid before them the ſtate of his affairs, and repreſented the neceſſity of making great preparations to reſiſt the enemies, whom envy at the ſucceſs which had crowned his arms would unite againſt him, he demanded a large ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms. But the Cortes, as the nation was already exhauſted by extraordinary donatives, refuſed to load it with any new burden, and in ſpite of all his endeavours to gain or to intimidate the members, perſiſted in this reſolution *. No reſource, therefore, remained but the extorting from Clement, by way of ranſom, a ſum ſufficient for diſcharging what was due to his troops, without which it was vain to mention to them their leaving Rome.

Nor was the Pope inactive on his part, or his intrigues unſucceſsful towards haſtening ſuch a treaty. By flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he diſarmed the reſentment of the cardinal Colonna, and wrought upon his vanity, which made him deſirous of ſhewing the world that as his power had at firſt depreſſed the Pope, it would now raiſe him to his former dignity. By favours and promiſes he gained Moronè, who, by one of thoſe whimſical revolutions which occur ſo often in his life, and which ſo ſtrongly diſplay his character, had now recovered his credit and authority with the Imperialiſts. The addreſs and influence of two ſuch men eaſily removed all the difficulties of the Emperor's ambaſſadors, and brought to a concluſion the treaty for Clement's liberty, upon conditions hard indeed, but not more intolerable than a prince in his ſituation had reaſon to expect. He was obliged to advance in ready money an hundred thouſand crowns for the uſe of the army; to pay the ſame ſum at the diſtance of a fortnight; and at the end of three months, an hundred and fifty thouſand more. He engaged not to take part in the war againſt Charles, either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a cruzado, and the tenth of eccleſiaſtical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hoſtages, but put the Emperor in poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe articles †. Having raiſed the firſt moiety by a ſale of eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices, and other expedients equally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from impri-

* Sandov. i. p. 814. † Guic. l. 18. 467, &c.

ſonment.

ſonment. But Clement, impatient to be free, after a tedious confinement of ſix months, as well as full of the ſuſpicion and diſtruſt natural to the unfortunate, was ſo much afraid that the Imperialiſts might ſtill throw in obſtacles to put off his deliverance, that he diſguiſed himſelf the preceding night in the habit of a merchant, and Alarcon having remitted ſomewhat of his vigilance upon the concluſion of the treaty, he made his eſcape undiſcovered. He arrived before next morning, without any attendants but a ſingle officer, at Orvieto; and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief inſtrument of procuring him liberty *. 1527. Decemb. 6.

Overtures of the Emperor to Francis and Henry.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the ambaſſadors of France and England repaired to Spain, in conſequence of the treaty which Wolſey had concluded with the French King. The Emperor, unwilling to draw on himſelf the united forces of the two Monarchs, diſcovered an inclination to relax ſomewhat the rigour of the treaty of Madrid, to which, hitherto, he had adhered inflexibly. He offered to accept of the two millions of crowns which Francis had propoſed to pay as an equivalent for the dutchy of Burgundy, and to ſet his ſons at liberty on condition that he would recall his army out of Italy, and reſtore Genoa, together with the other conqueſts he had made in that country. With regard to Sforza, he inſiſted that his fate ſhould be determined by the judges appointed to enquire into his crimes. Theſe propoſitions being made to Henry, he tranſmitted them to his ally the French King, whom it more nearly concerned to examine, and to anſwer them; and if Francis had been ſincerely ſolicitous either to conclude peace, or preſerve conſiſtency in his own conduct, he ought inſtantly to have cloſed with overtures which differed but little from the propoſitions he himſelf had formerly made †. But his views were now much changed; his alliance with Henry; Lautrec's progreſs in Italy, and the ſuperiority of his army there above that of the Emperor, ſcarce left him room to doubt of the ſucceſs of his enterprize againſt Naples. Full of theſe ſanguine hopes, he was at no loſs to find pretexts for rejecting or evading what the Emperor had propoſed. Under the appearance of ſympathy with Sforza, for whoſe intereſts he had not hitherto diſcovered much ſolicitude,

* Guic. l. 18. 467, &c. Jov. Vit. Colon. 169. Mauroc. Hiſt. Venet. lib. iii 252.

† Recueil des Traitez, 2. 249.

he

Book V. 1527. he again demanded the full and unconditional re-eſtabliſhment of that unfortunate prince in his dominions. Under colour of its being imprudent to rely on the Emperor's ſincerity, he inſiſted that his ſons ſhould be ſet at liberty before the French troops left Italy, or ſurrendered Genoa. The unreaſonableneſs of theſe demands, as well as the reproachful inſinuation with which they were accompanied, irritated Charles to ſuch a degree that he could ſcarce liſten to them with patience; and repenting of his moderation which had made ſo little impreſſion on his enemies, declared that he would not depart in the ſmalleſt article from the conditions he had now offered. Upon this the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors, for Henry had been drawn unaccountably to concur with Francis in theſe ſtrange propoſitions, demanded and obtained their audience of leave *.

1528. January 22. NEXT day two heralds who had accompanied the ambaſſadors on purpoſe, though they had hitherto concealed their character, having aſſumed the enſigns of their office, appeared in the Emperor's court, and being admitted into his preſence, they in the name of their reſpective maſters, and with all the ſolemnity cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, denounced war againſt him. Charles received both with a dignity ſuitable to his own rank, but ſpoke to each in a tone adapted to the ſentiments which he entertained of their ſovereigns. He accepted the defiance of the Engliſh Monarch with a firmneſs tempered by ſome degree of decency and reſpect. His reply to the French King abounded with that acrimony of expreſſion, which perſonal rivalſhip, exaſperated by the memory of many injuries inflicted as well as ſuffered, naturally ſuggeſts. He deſired the French herald to acquaint his ſovereign, that he would henceforth conſider him as a baſe violator of public faith, and a ſtranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. Francis, too high ſpirited to bear ſuch an imputation, had recourſe to an uncommon expedient in order to vindicate his character. He inſtantly ſent back the herald with a *cartel* of defiance, in which he gave the Emperor the lie in form, challenged him to ſingle combat, requiring him to name the time and place of the encounter, and the weapons with which he choſe to fight. Charles, as he was not inferior to his rival in ſpirit or bravery, readily accepted the challenge; but after ſeveral

They declare war againſt the Emperor.

Francis challenges the Emperor to ſingle combat.

* Rym. 14. 200. Herbert 85. Guic. l. 18. 471.

meſſages

meſſages concerning the arrangement of all the circumſtances relative to the combat, accompanied with mutual reproaches, bordering on the moſt indecent ſcurrility, all thoughts of this duel, more becoming the heroes of romance than the two greateſt Monarchs of their age, were entirely laid aſide *. Book V. 1528.

THE example of two perſonages, ſo illuſtrious, drew ſuch general attention, and carried along with it ſo much authority, as gave riſe to an important change in manners all over Europe. Duels, as has already been obſerved, had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and forming a part of their juriſprudence, were authorized by the magiſtrate on many occaſions as the moſt proper method of terminating queſtions with regard to property, or of deciding in thoſe which reſpected crimes. But ſingle combats being conſidered as ſolemn appeals to the omniſcience and juſtice of the ſupreme Being, they were allowed only in public cauſes, according to the preſcription of law, and carried on in a judicial form. Men accuſtomed to this manner of deciſion in courts of juſtice, were naturally led to apply it to perſonal and private quarrels. Duels, which at firſt could be appointed by the civil judge alone, were fought without the interpoſition of his authority, and in caſes to which the laws did not extend. The tranſaction between Charles and Francis ſtrongly countenanced this practice. Upon every affront, or injury which ſeemed to touch his honour, a gentleman thought himſelf entitled to draw his ſword, and to call on his adverſary to make reparation. Such an opinion introduced among men of fierce courage, of high ſpirit, and of rude manners, when offence was often given, and revenge was always prompt, produced moſt fatal conſequences. Much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom was ſhed; many uſeful lives were ſacrificed; and at ſome periods, war itſelf hath ſcarce been more deſtructive than theſe conteſts of honour. So powerful, however, is the dominion of faſhion, that neither the terror of penal laws, nor reverence for religion, have been able entirely to aboliſh a practice unknown among the ancients, and not juſtifiable by any principle of reaſon; though at the ſame time it muſt be admitted, that to this abſurd cuſtom, we muſt aſcribe in ſome degree the extraordinary gentleneſs

The effect of this in promoting the cuſtom of duelling.

* Recueil des Traitez 2. Mem. de Bellay, 103, &c. Sandov. Hiſt. I. 837.

and

Book V. 1528.

and complaiſance of modern manners, and that reſpectful attention of one man to another, which, at preſent, render the ſocial intercourſes of life far more agreeable and decent than among the moſt civilized nations of antiquity.

Retreat of the Imperialiſts from Rome. February.

WHILE the two monarchs ſeemed ſo eager to terminate their quarrel by a perſonal combat, Lautrec continued his operations which promiſed to be more deciſive. His army, which was now increaſed to thirty-five thouſand men, advanced by great marches towards Naples. The terror of their approach, as well as the remonſtrances and the intreaties of the prince of Orange, prevailed at laſt on the Imperial troops, though with difficulty, to quit Rome, of which they had kept poſſeſſion during ten months. But of that flouriſhing army which had entered the city, ſcarce one half remained; the reſt, cut off by the plague, or waſted by diſeaſes, the effects of their inactivity, intemperance, and debauchery, fell victims to their own crimes *. Lautrec made the greateſt efforts to attack them in their retreat towards the Neapolitan territories, which would have finiſhed the war at one blow. But the prudence of their leaders diſappointed all his meaſures, and conducted them with little loſs to Naples. The people of that kingdom, always the prey of every invader, extremely impatient to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, received the French with open arms, wherever they appeared to take poſſeſſion; and Gaeta and Naples excepted, ſcarce any place of importance remained in the hands of the Imperialiſts. The preſervation of the former was owing to the ſtrength of its fortifications, that of the latter to the preſence of the Imperial army. Lautrec, however, ſat down before Naples, but finding it vain to think of reducing by force a city defended by ſo many troops, he was obliged to employ the ſlower, but leſs dangerous method of blockade; and having taken meaſures which appeared to him effectual, he confidently aſſured his maſter, that famine would ſoon compel the beſieged to capitulate. Theſe hopes were ſtrongly confirmed by the defeat of a vigorous attempt made by the enemy in order to recover the command of the ſea. The gallies of Andrew Doria, under the command of his nephew Philippino, guarded the mouth of the harbour. Moncada, who had ſucceeded Lannoy in the viceroyalty, rigged out a number of

French beſiege Naples.

* Guic. l. 18. 487.

gallies

gaillies ſuperior to Doria's, and going on board himſelf, together with the marquis del Guaſto, and the flower of the Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers, attacked Doria before the arrival of the Venetian and French fleets. But Doria, by his ſuperior ſkill in naval operations, eaſily triumphed over the valour and number of the Spaniards. The viceroy was killed, moſt of his fleet deſtroyed, and Guaſto, with many officers of diſtinction being taken priſoners, were put on board the captive gallies, and ſent by Philippino, as trophies of his victory, to his uncle *.

Circumſtances which retard the progreſs of it.

But notwithſtanding this flattering proſpect of ſucceſs, many circumſtances concurred to fruſtrate Lautrec's expectations. Clement, though he always acknowledged his being indebted to Francis for the recovery of his liberty, and often complained of the cruel treatment he had met with from the Emperor, was not influenced at this juncture by principles of gratitude, nor, which is more extraordinary, was he ſwayed by the deſire of revenge. His paſt misfortunes rendered him more cautious than ever, and his recollection of the errors which he had committed, increaſed the natural irreſolution of his mind. While he amuſed Francis with promiſes, he ſecretly negotiated with Charles; and being ſolicitous, above all things, to re-eſtabliſh his family in Florence with their ancient authority, which he could not expect from Francis, who had entered into ſtrict alliance with the new republick, he leaned rather towards the ſide of his enemy than that of his benefactor, and gave Lautrec no aſſiſtance towards carrying on his operations. The Venetians, viewing with jealouſy the progreſs of the French arms, were intent only on recovering ſuch maritime towns in the Neapolitan dominions as were to be poſſeſſed by their republick, while they were altogether careleſs about the reduction of Naples, on which the ſucceſs of the common cauſe depended †. The King of England, inſtead of being able, as had been projected, to embarraſs the Emperor by attacking his territories in the Low-Countries, found his ſubjects ſo averſe to an unneceſſary war, which would have ruined the trade of the nation, that in order to ſilence their clamours, and put a ſtop to the inſurrections ready to break out among them, he was compelled to conclude a truce for eight months with the governeſs of the

* Guic. l. 19. 487. P. Heuter. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 231.
† Guic. l. 19. 491.

Nether-

Book V. 1528.

Netherlands *. Francis himſelf, with the ſame unpardonable inattention of which he had formerly been guilty, and for which he had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, neglected to make proper remittances to Lautrec for the ſupport of his army †.

Revolt of Andrew Doria from France.

THESE unexpected events retarded the progreſs of the French, and diſcouraged both the general and his troops; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their meaſures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republick, and trained up from his infancy in the ſea-ſervice, retained the ſpirit of independence natural to the former, and the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A perfect ſtranger to the arts of ſubmiſſion or flattery neceſſary in courts, and conſcious at the ſame time of his own merit and importance, he always offered his advice with freedom, and often preferred his complaints and remonſtrances with boldneſs. The French miniſters, unaccuſtomed to ſuch liberties, determined to ruin a man who treated them with ſo little deference; and though Francis himſelf had a juſt ſenſe of Doria's ſervices, as well as an high eſteem for his character, the courtiers, by continually repreſenting him as a man haughty, intractable, and more ſolicitous to aggrandize himſelf, than to promote the intereſt of France, gradually undermined the foundations of his credit, and filled the King's mind with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. From thence proceeded ſeveral affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid; his advice, even in naval affairs, was often ſlighted; an attempt was made to ſeize the priſoners taken by his nephew in the ſea-fight off Naples; all which he bore with abundance of ill humour. But an injury offered to his country, tranſported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and, removing thither ſome branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly ſhewed that they intended to render that town, long the object of jealouſy and hatred to the Genoeſe, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and intereſt of his country, remonſtrated againſt this in the higheſt tone, not without threats, if the meaſure were not inſtantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and

* Herbert, 90. Rymer, 14. 258.

† Guic. l. xviii. 478.

placed

placed in the moſt odious light, irritated Francis to ſuch a degree, that he commanded Barbeſieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to ſail directly to Genoa, with the French fleet, to arreſt Doria, and to ſeize his gallies. This raſh order, of which the moſt profound ſecrecy alone could have ſecured the execution, was concealed with ſo little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his gallies to a place of ſafety. Guaſto his priſoner, who had long obſerved and fomented his growing diſcontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promiſes to enter into the Emperor's ſervice, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and reſentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to diſpatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and demands. The negotiation was not long; Charles, fully ſenſible of the importance of ſuch an acquiſition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria ſent back his commiſſion, together with the collar of St. Michael to Francis, and hoiſting the Imperial colours, ſailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city as he had formerly engaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance. Book V. 1528.

His arrival opened the communication with the ſea, and reſtored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity; and the French, having loſt their ſuperiority at ſea, were ſoon reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions. The prince of Orange, who ſucceeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army, ſhewed himſelf by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by the troops, who remembering the proſperity they had enjoyed under his command, ſerved him with the utmoſt alacrity, he let ſlip no opportunity of haraſſing the enemy, and by continual alarms or ſallies, fatigued and weakened them *. As an addition to all theſe misfortunes, the diſeaſes common in that country during the ſultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The priſoners communicated to them the peſtilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with ſuch violence, that few, either officers or ſoldiers, eſcaped the infection. Wretched ſituation of the French army before Naples.

* Jovii Hiſt. lib. 36. p. 31, &c. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1139. Bellay, 114, &c.

Book V. 1528. infection. Of the whole army, not four thouſand men, a number ſcarce ſufficient to defend the camp, were capable of doing duty *; and being now beſieged in their turn, they ſuffered all the miſeries of which the Imperialiſts were delivered. Lautrec, after ſtruggling long with ſo many diſappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind at the ſame time that the peſtilence waſted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his ſovereign, and the infidelity of his allies, to which ſo many brave men had fallen victims †. By his death, and the indiſpoſition of the other generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer altogether unequal to ſuch a truſt. He, with troops no leſs diſpirited than reduced, retreated in diſorder to Averſa; which town being inveſted by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the neceſſity of conſenting, that he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, that his troops ſhould lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation, the wretched remains of the French army were ſaved; and the Emperor by his own perſeverance and the good conduct of his generals, acquired once more the ſuperiority in Italy ‡.

Aug. 15.

Raiſe the ſiege.

Genoa recovers its liberty.

THE loſs of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners was Doria's higheſt ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the ſervice of France, and enter into that of the Emperor. A moſt favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterprize now preſented itſelf. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the peſtilence, was almoſt deſerted by its inhabitants; the French garriſon being neither regularly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconſiderable number; Doria's emiſſaries found that ſuch of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to ſecond all his meaſures. Things wearing this promiſing aſpect, he ſailed towards the coaſt of Genoa; on his approach the French gallies retired; a ſmall body of men which he landed, ſurprized one of the gates of Genoa in the night time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble

Sept. 12.

* Bellay, 117, &c. † P. Heuter. Rerum Auſtr. lib. x. c. 2. 231.
‡ Bellay, 117, &c. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 25, 26.

garriſon,

garriſon, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and Doria took poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed or reſiſtance. Want of proviſions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to aboliſh ſuch an odious monument of their ſervitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground. Book V. 1528.

It was now in Doria's power to have rendered himſelf the ſovereign of his country, which he had ſo happily freed from oppreſſion. The fame of his former actions, the ſucceſs of his preſent attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the ſupport of the Emperor, all conſpired to facilitate his attaining the ſupreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he ſacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf to the virtuous ſatisfaction of eſtabliſhing liberty in his country, the higheſt object at which ambition can aim. Having aſſembled the whole body of the people in the court before his palace, he aſſured them, that the happineſs of ſeeing them once more in poſſeſſion of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his ſervices; that more delighted with the name of citizen than of ſovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them the right of ſettling what form of government they would now chooſe to be eſtabliſhed among them. The people liſtened to him with tears of admiration, and of joy. Twelve perſons were elected to new-model the conſtitution of the republic. The influence of Doria's virtue and example, communicated itſelf to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the ſtate, ſeemed to be forgotten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the ſame form of government which hath ſubſiſted with little variation ſince that time in Genoa, was eſtabliſhed with univerſal applauſe. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, reſpected and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his profeſſions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preſerved a great aſcendant over the councils of the republic, which owed its being to his generoſity. The authority he poſſeſſed was more flattering, as well as more ſatisfactory, than that derived from ſovereignty; a dominion founded in love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is ſtill reverenced by the Genoeſe, and he is

Diſintereſted conduct of Doria.

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diſtinguiſhed in their public monuments, and celebrated in the works of their hiſtorians by the moſt honourable of all appellations, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY *.

1529. Operations in the Milaneſe.

FRANCIS, in order to recover the reputation of his arms, diſcredited by ſo many loſſes, made new efforts in the Milaneſe. But the Count of St. Pol, a raſh and unexperienced officer, to whom he gave the command, was no match for Antonio de Leyva, the ableſt of the Imperial generals. He, by his ſuperior ſkill in war, checked with a handful of men, the briſk, but ill-concerted motions of the French; and though ſo infirm himſelf that he was carried conſtantly in a litter, he ſurpaſſed them when occaſion required, no leſs in activity than in prudence. By an unexpected march he ſurprized, defeated, and took the Count of St. Pol, and ruined the French army in the Milaneſe as entirely as the prince of Orange had ruined that which beſieged Naples †.

Negotiations between Charles and Francis.

AMIDST theſe vigorous operations in the field, each party diſcovered an impatient deſire of peace, and continual negotiations were carried on for that purpoſe. The French King diſcouraged, and almoſt exhauſted by ſo many unſucceſsful enterprizes, was reduced now to think of obtaining the releaſe of his ſons by conceſſions, not by the terror of his arms. The Pope hoped to recover by a treaty whatever he had loſt in the war. The Emperor, notwithſtanding the advantages which he had gained, had many reaſons to make him wiſh for an accommodation; Solyman, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Auſtrian territories with the whole force of the Eaſt; the Reformation gained ground daily in Germany, the princes who favoured it entered into a confederacy, which he thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the Empire; the Spaniards murmured at a war the weight of which reſted chiefly on them; the variety and extent of his operations, far exceeded what his revenues could ſupport; his ſucceſs hitherto had been owing chiefly to his own good fortune, and to the abilities of his generals, nor could he flatter himſelf that they, with troops deſtitute of every thing neceſſary, would always triumph over enemies ſtill in a condition to renew their attacks.

* Guic. l. 19. p. 498. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1146. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 26. p. 36, &c. † Guic. l. 19. 520. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 233. Mem. de Bellay, 121.

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All parties, however, were at equal pains to conceal, or to diſſemble their real ſentiments. The Emperor, that his inability to carry on the war might not be ſuſpected, inſiſted on high terms in the tone of a conqueror. The Pope, ſolicitous not to loſe his preſent allies, before he came to any agreement with Charles, continued to make a thouſand proteſtations of fidelity to the former, while he privately negotiated with the latter. Francis, afraid that his confederates might prevent him by treating for themſelves with the Emperor, had recourſe to many diſhonourable artifices in order to turn their attention from the meaſures which he was taking to adjuſt all differences with his rival.

In this ſituation of affairs, when all the contending powers wiſhed for peace, but durſt not venture too haſtily on the ſteps neceſſary for attaining it, two ladies undertook to procure this bleſſing ſo much deſired by all Europe. Theſe were Margaret of Auſtria, dowager of Savoy, the Emperor's aunt, and Louiſe Francis's mother. They agreed on an interview at Cambray, and being lodged in two adjoining houſes between which a communication was opened, met together without ceremony or obſervation, and held daily conferences to which no perſon whatever was admitted. As both were profoundly ſkilled in buſineſs, thoroughly acquainted with the ſecrets of their reſpective courts, and poſſeſſed with perfect confidence in each other, they ſoon made great progreſs towards a final accommodation; and the ambaſſadors of all the confederates waited in anxious ſuſpenſe to know their fate, the determination of which was entirely in their hands *. May 1.

But whatever diligence they uſed to haſten forward a general peace, the Pope had the addreſs and induſtry to get the ſtart of his allies, by concluding at Barcelona a particular treaty for himſelf. The Emperor, impatient to viſit Italy in his way to Germany; and deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity in the one country, before he attempted to compoſe the diſorders which abounded in the other, found it neceſſary to ſecure at leaſt one alliance on which he might depend, among the Italian ſtates. That with the Pope, who courted it with unwearied importunity, ſeemed more proper than any other. Charles being extremely ſolicitous to make ſome reparation for Separate treaty between the Pope and Charles. June 20.

* P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 133. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122.

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the insults which he had offered to his sacred character, and to redeem past offences by new merit, granted Clement, after all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued series of success. Among other articles, he engaged to restore all the territories belonging to the ecclesiastical state; to re-establish the dominion of the Medici in Florence; to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander the head of that family; and to put it in the Pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza, and the possession of the Milanese. In return for these ample concessions, Clement gave the Emperor the investiture of Naples without the reserve of any tribute, but the present of a white steed in acknowledgment of his sovereignty; absolved all who had been concerned in assaulting and plundering Rome; and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout their dominions *.

August 5. Peace of Cambray between Charles and Francis.

The account of this transaction, quickened the negotiations at Cambray, and brought Margaret and Louise to an immmediate agreement. The treaty of Madrid served as the basis of that which they concluded; the latter being intended to mitigate the rigour of the former. The chief articles were, That the Emperor should not, for the present, demand the restitution of Burgundy, reserving however, in full force, his rights and pretensions to that dutchy; That Francis should pay two millions of crowns as the ransom of his sons, and, before they were set at liberty, should restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese; That he should resign the sovereignty of Flan- and Artois, that he should renounce all his pretensions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps, that he should immediately consummate the marriage concluded between him and the Emperor's sister Eleanora †.

Advantages for the Emperor.

Thus Francis, chiefly from his impatience to procure liberty to his sons, sacrificed every thing which had at first prompted him to take arms, or which had induced him, by continuing hostilities during nine successive campaigns, to protract the war at a length scarce known in Europe before the establishment of standing armies, and the impositions of exorbitant taxes became universal. The Emperor, by this treaty, was rendered sole arbiter of

* Guic. l. 19. 522. † P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 234. Sandov. Hist. dell Emper. Carl. V. ii. 28.

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the fate of Italy; he delivered his territories in the Netherlands from an ignominious badge of ſubjection; and after having baffled his rival in the field, he preſcribed to him the conditions of peace. The different conduct and ſpirit with which the two Monarchs carried on the operations of war, led naturally to ſuch an iſſue of it. Charles, inclined by temper, as well as obliged by his ſituation, concerted all his ſchemes with caution, purſued them with perſeverance; and obſerving circumſtances and events with attention, let none eſcape that could be improved to advantage. Francis, more enterprizing than ſteady, undertook great deſigns with warmth, but executed them with remiſſneſs; and, diverted by his pleaſures, or deceived by his favourites, he often loſt the moſt promiſing opportunities of ſucceſs. Nor had the character of the two rivals themſelves greater influence on the operations of the war, than the oppoſite qualities of the generals whom they employed. Among the Imperialiſts, valour tempered with prudence; fertility of invention aided by experience; ſagacity to penetrate the deſigns of their enemies, as well as to conduct their own, with all the talents that form great commanders and enſure victory, were conſpicuous. Among the French, theſe qualities were either wanting, or the very reverſe of them abounded; nor could they boaſt of one man (unleſs we except Lautrec, who was always unfortunate) that equalled the merit of Peſcara, Leyva, Guaſto, the prince of Orange, and other leaders whom Charles had to ſet in oppoſition to them. Bourbon, Morone, and Doria, who might have been capable of balancing by their abilities and conduct the ſuperiority which the Imperialiſts had acquired, were loſt through the careleſſneſs of the King, and the malice or injuſtice of his counſellors; and the moſt fatal blows given to France during the progreſs of the war, proceeded from the deſpair and reſentment of theſe three perſons, who were forced to abandon her ſervice.

Diſhonourable to Francis.

THE hard conditions to which Francis was obliged to ſubmit, were not the moſt afflicting circumſtance to him in the treaty of Cambray. He loſt his reputation and the confidence of all Europe, by abandoning his allies to his rival. Unwilling to enter into the details neceſſary for adjuſting their intereſts, or afraid that whatever he claimed for them muſt have been purchaſed by farther conceſſions on his own part, he gave them up in a body; and

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without the leaſt proviſion in their behalf, left the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Ferrara, together with ſuch of the Neapolitan barons as had joined his army, to the mercy of the Emperor. They exclaimed loudly againſt this baſe and perfidious action, of which Francis himſelf was ſo much aſhamed, that, in order to avoid the pain of hearing from their ambaſſadors the reproaches which he juſtly merited, it was ſome time before he would conſent to allow them an audience. Charles, on the other hand, was attentive to the intereſt of every perſon who had adhered to him; the rights of ſome of his Flemiſh ſubjects, who had eſtates or pretenſions in France, were ſecured; one article was inſerted, obliging Francis to reſtore the blood and memory of the Conſtable Bourbon; and to grant his heirs the poſſeſſion of his lands which had been forfeited; another, by which indemnification was ſtipulated for thoſe French gentlemen who had accompanied Bourbon in his exile *. This conduct, laudable in itſelf, and placed in the moſt ſtriking light by a compariſon with that of Francis, gained Charles as much eſteem as the ſucceſs of his arms had acquired him glory.

Henry acquieſces in it.

FRANCIS, did not treat the King of England with the ſame neglect as his other allies. He communicated to him all the ſteps of his negotiation at Cambray, and luckily found that Monarch in a ſituation which left him no choice, but to approve implicitly of his meaſures, and to concur with them. Henry had been ſoliciting the Pope for ſome time, in order to obtain a divorce from Catharine of Aragon his Queen. Several motives combined in prompting the King to urge this ſuit; as he was powerfully influenced at ſome ſeaſons by religious conſiderations, he entertained many ſcruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage with his brother's widow; his affections had long been eſtranged from the Queen, who was older than himſelf, and had loſt all the charms ſhe poſſeſſed in the earlier part of her life; he was paſſionately deſirous of having male iſſue; Wolſey artfully fortified his ſcruples, and encouraged his hopes, that he might widen the breach between him and the Emperor, Catharine's nephew; and, what was more forcible perhaps in its operation than all theſe united, the King had conceived a violent love for the celebrated Anne Boleyn, a young

His ſcheme of being divorced from his Queen.

* Guic. l. 19. p. 585. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 235.

lady

lady of great beauty, and of greater accompliſhments, whom, as he found it impoſſible to gain her on other terms, he determined to raiſe to the throne. The papal authority had often been interpoſed to grant divorces for reaſons leſs ſpecious than thoſe which Henry produced. When the matter was firſt propoſed to Clement, during his impriſonment in the caſtle of St. Angelo, as his hopes of recovering liberty depended entirely on the King of England, and his ally of France, he expreſſed the warmeſt inclination to gratify him. But no ſooner was he ſet free, than he diſcovered other ſentiments. Charles, who eſpouſed the protection of his aunt with zeal inflamed by reſentment, alarmed the Pope on the one hand with threats which made a deep impreſſion on his timid mind; and allured him on the other with thoſe promiſes in favour of his family, which he afterwards accompliſhed. Upon the proſpect of theſe Clement not only forgot all his obligations to Henry, but ventured to endanger the intereſt of the Romiſh religion in England, and to run the riſk of alienating that kingdom for ever from the obedience of the Papal ſee. After amuſing Henry during two years, with all the ſubtleties and chicane which the court of Rome can ſo dextrouſly employ to protract or defeat any cauſe; after diſplaying the whole extent of his ambiguous and deceitful policy, the intricacies of which the Engliſh hiſtorians, to whom it properly belongs, have found it no eaſy matter to trace and unravel; he, at laſt, recalled the powers of the delegates whom he had appointed to judge in the point, avocated the cauſe to Rome, leaving the King no other hope of obtaining a divorce but from the perſonal deciſion of the Pope himſelf. As Clement was now in ſtrict alliance with the Emperor, who had purchaſed his friendſhip by ſuch exorbitant conceſſions, Henry deſpaired of procuring any ſentence from the former, but what was dictated by the latter. His honour, however, and paſſions concurred in preventing him from relinquiſhing his ſcheme of a divorce, which he determined to accompliſh by other means, and at any rate; and the continuance of Francis's friendſhip being neceſſary to counterbalance the Emperor's power, he, in order to ſecure that, not only offered no remonſtrances againſt the total neglect of their allies, in the treaty of Cambray, but made Francis the preſent of a large ſum,

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as a brotherly contribution towards the payment of the ranſom for his ſons *.

1529. Aug. 12. The Emperor viſits Italy.

MEANWHILE the Emperor landed in Italy with a numerous train of the Spaniſh nobility, and a conſiderable body of troops. He left the government of Spain during his abſence to the Empreſs Iſabella. By his long reſidence in that country, he had acquired ſuch thorough knowledge of the character of the people, that he could perfectly accommodate the maxims of his government to their genius. He could even aſſume, upon ſome occaſions, ſuch popular manners, as gained wonderfully upon the Spaniards. A ſtriking inſtance of his diſpoſition to gratify them had occurred a few days before he embarked for Italy: He was to make his public entry into the city of Barcelona; and ſome doubts having ariſen among the inhabitants, whether they ſhould receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona, Charles inſtantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring that he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed with this flattering expreſſion of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy, and the ſtates of the province ſwore allegiance to his ſon Philip, as heir of the county of Barcelona. A ſimilar oath had been taken in all the kingdoms of Spain, with equal ſatisfaction †.

THE Emperor appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror; and ambaſſadors from all the princes and ſtates of that country attended his court waiting to receive his deciſion with regard to their fate. At Genoa, where he firſt landed, he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of their liberties. Having honoured Doria with many marks of diſtinction, and beſtowed on the republick ſeveral new privileges, he proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the Pope. He affected to unite in his publick entry into that city the ſtate and majeſty that ſuited an Emperor, with the humility becoming an obedient ſon of the church; and while at the head of twenty thouſand veteran ſoldiers, able to give law to all Italy, he kneeled down to kiſs the feet of that very Pope whom he had ſo lately detained a priſoner. The Italians, after ſuffering ſo much from the ferocity and licentiouſneſs of his armies, and after having been long accuſtomed to form in their imagination a pic-

* Herbert. Mem. de Bellay, p. 122. † Sandov. ii. p. 50. Ferrer. ix. 116.

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ture of Charles which bore ſome reſemblance to that of the barbarous Monarchs of the Goths or Huns, who had formerly afflicted their country with like calamities, were ſurprized to ſee a prince of a graceful appearance, affable and courteous in his deportment, of regular manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion *. They were ſtill more aſtoniſhed when he ſettled all the concerns of the princes and ſtates which now depended upon him, with a degree of moderation and equity much beyond what they had expected.

His moderation and the motives of it.

CHARLES himſelf, when he ſet out from Spain, far from intending to give any ſuch extraordinary proof of this ſelf-denial, ſeems to have been reſolved to avail himſelf to the utmoſt of the ſuperiority which he had acquired in Italy. But various circumſtances concurred in pointing out the neceſſity of purſuing a very different courſe. The progreſs of the Turkiſh Sultan, who, after overrunning Hungary, had penetrated into Auſtria, and laid ſiege to Vienna with an army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, loudly called on him to collect his whole force to oppoſe that torrent; and though the valour of the Germans, the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, together with the treachery of the Vizier ſoon obliged Soly- man to abandon that enterprize with infamy and loſs, the religious diſorders ſtill growing in Germany made the Emperor's preſence highly neceſſary there †: The Florentines, inſtead of giving their conſent to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Medici, which by the treaty of Barcelona the Emperor had bound himſelf to procure, were preparing to defend their liberty by force of arms; the vaſt preparations for his journey had involved him in unuſual expences; and on this, as well as many other occaſions, the multiplicity of his affairs, and the narrowneſs of his revenues obliged him to contract his vaſt ſchemes of ambition, and to forego preſent and certain advantages, that he might guard againſt more remote but unavoidable dangers. Charles, from all theſe conſiderations, finding it neceſſary to aſſume an air of moderation, acted his part with a good grace. He admitted Sforza into his preſence, and not only gave him a full pardon of all paſt offences, but granted him the inveſtiture of the duchy together with his niece the King of Denmark's daughter in marriage. He allowed the duke of Ferrara to keep poſſeſſion of all his

Sept. 13.

Oct. 16.

* Sandov. Hiſt. dell Emp. Carl. V. ii. 50, 53, &c. † Sleidan, 121. Guic. l. xx. 550.

dominions,

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1529. dominions, adjuſting the points in diſpute between him and the Pope with an impartiality not very agreeable to the latter. He came to a final accommodation with the Venetians upon the reaſonable condition of their reſtoring whatever they had uſurped during the late war, either in the Neapolitan or papal territories. In return for ſo many conceſſions he exacted conſiderable ſums from each of the powers with whom he treated, which they paid without reluctance, and which afforded him the means of proceeding on his journey towards Germany with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity *.

1530. Re-eſtabliſhes the authority of the Medici in Florence.

THESE treaties, which reſtored tranquillity to Italy after a tedious war, the calamities of which had chiefly affected that country, were publiſhed at Bologna with great ſolemnity on the firſt day of the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, applauding the Emperor to whoſe moderation and generoſity they aſcribed the bleſſings of peace which they had ſo long deſired. The Florentines alone did not partake of this general joy. Animated with a zeal for liberty more laudable than prudent, they determined to oppoſe the reſtoration of the Medici. The Imperial army had already entered their territories, and formed the ſiege of their capital. But though deſerted by all their allies, and left without any hope of ſuccour, they defended themſelves many months with an obſtinate valour worthy of better ſucceſs, and even when they ſurrendered, they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of ſecuring ſome remains of their liberty. But the Emperor, from his deſire to gratify the Pope, fruſtrated all their expectations, and aboliſhed their ancient form of government, raiſed Alexander Medici to the ſame abſolute dominion over that ſtate which his family have retained to the preſent times. Philibert de Chalons prince of Orange, the Imperial general, was killed during this ſiege. His eſtate and titles deſcended to his ſiſter Claude de Chalons, who was married to Renè count of Naſſau, and ſhe tranſmitted to her poſterity of the houſe of Naſſau the title of Princes of Orange which they have rendered ſo illuſtrious †.

State of affairs, civil and religious in Germany.

AFTER the publication of the peace at Bologna, and the ceremony of his coronation as King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, which the Pope performed with

Feb. 22 and 24.

* Sandov. ii. 55, &c. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 236.

† Guic. l. xx. p. 541, &c. P. Heuter. Rer.

the

1539.

the accuſtomed formalities, nothing detained Charles in Italy †; and he began to prepare for his journey to Germany. His preſence became every day more neceſſary in that country, and was ſolicited with equal importunity by the catholicks and by the favourers of the new doctrines. During that long interval of tranquillity which the abſence of the Emperor, the conteſts between him and the Pope, and his attention to the war with France afforded them, the latter had gained much ground. Moſt of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only eſtabliſhed in their territories that form of worſhip which he approved, but had entirely ſuppreſſed the rites of the Romiſh church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almoſt one half of the Germanick body had revolted from the Papal ſee, and its dominion, even in that part which had not hitherto ſhaken off the yoke, was conſiderably weakened by the example of the neighbouring ſtates, or by the ſecret progreſs of thoſe doctrines which had undermined it among them. Whatever ſatisfaction the Emperor, while he was at open enmity with the ſee of Rome, might have felt in thoſe events that tended to mortify and embarraſs the Pope, he could not help perceiving now, that the religious diviſions in Germany would, in the end, prove extremely hurtful to the Imperial authority. The weakneſs of former Emperors had ſuffered the great vaſſals of the Empire to make ſuch ſucceſsful encroachments upon their power and prerogative, that during the whole courſe of a war, which had often required the exertion of his utmoſt ſtrength, Charles ſcarce drew any effectual aid from Germany, and found that magnificent titles or obſolete pretenſions were almoſt the only advantages which he had gained by ſwaying the Imperial ſceptre. He now became fully ſenſible that if he did not recover in ſome degree the prerogatives which his predeceſſors had loſt, and acquire the authority, as well as poſſeſs the name of head of the Empire, his high dignity would contribute more to obſtruct than to promote his ambitious ſchemes. Nothing, he ſaw, was more eſſential towards attaining this than to ſuppreſs opinions that might form new bonds of confederacy among the princes of the Empire, and unite them by ties ſtronger and more ſacred than any political connection. Nothing ſeemed to lead more certainly to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, than to employ zeal for the eſtab-

† H. Cornel. Agrippa de duplici Coronatione Car. V. ap. Scard. ii. 266.

liſhed

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liſhed religion, of which he was the natural protector, as the inſtrument of extending his civil authority.

1530. Proceedings of the Diet at Spires. March 15, 1529.

ACCORDINGLY, a proſpect no ſooner opened of coming to an accommodation with the Pope, than by the Emperor's appointment, a diet of the Empire was held at Spires, in order to take into conſideration the ſtate of religion. The decree of the diet aſſembled there in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty ſix, which was almoſt equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions, had given great offence to the reſt of Chriſtendom. The greateſt delicacy of addreſs, however, was requiſite in proceeding to any deciſion more rigorous. The minds of men kept in perpetual agitation by a controverſy carried on during twelve years without intermiſſion of debate, or abatement of zeal, were now inflamed to an high degree. They were accuſtomed to innovations, and ſaw the boldeſt of them ſucceſsful. Having not only aboliſhed old rites, but ſubſtituted new forms in their place, they were influenced as much by attachment to the ſyſtem which he had embraced, as by averſion to that which they had abandoned. Luther himſelf, of a ſpirit not to be worn out by the length and obſtinacy of the combat, or to become remiſs upon ſucceſs, continued the attack with as much vigour as he had begun it. His diſciples, of whom many equalled him in zeal, and ſome ſurpaſſed him in learning, were no leſs capable than their maſter to conduct the controverſy in the propereſt manner. Many of the laiety, and even of the princes, trained up amidſt theſe inceſſant diſputations, and in the habit of liſtening to the arguments of the contending parties who alternately appealed to them as judges, came to be profoundly ſkilled in all the queſtions which were agitated, and, upon occaſion, could ſhew themſelves not inexpert in any of the arts with which theſe theological encounters were managed. It was obvious from all theſe circumſtances, that any violent deciſion of the diet muſt have immediately precipitated matters into confuſion, and have kindled in Germany the flames of a religious war. All, therefore, that the Archduke, and the other commiſſioners appointed by the Emperor demanded of the diet, was, to enjoin thoſe ſtates of the Empire who had hitherto obeyed the decree iſſued againſt Luther at Worms in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-four, to perſevere in the obſervation of it, and to prohibit the other ſtates from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly

particularly from aboliſhing the Maſs, before the meeting of a general council. After much diſpute, a decree to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices *.

The followers of Luther proteſt againſt them. April 19.

The Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Heſſe, the dukes of Lunenburgh, the Prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen Imperial or free cities †, entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt this decree, as unjuſt and impious. On that account they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of PROTESTANTS ‡, an appellation which hath ſince become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiſcriminately to all the ſects of whatever denomination which have revolted from the Roman ſee. Not ſatisfied with this declaration of their diſſent from the decree of the diet, the Proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors into Italy to lay their grievances before the Emperor, from whom they met with the moſt diſcouraging reception.

Deliberations of the Pope and Emperor.

Charles was at that time in cloſe union with the Pope, and ſolicitous to attach him inviolably to his intereſt. During their long reſidence at Bologna, they held many conſultations concerning the moſt effectual means of extirpating the hereſies which had ſprung up in Germany. Clement, whoſe cautious and timid mind the propoſal of a general council filled with horror, even beyond that which Popes, the conſtant enemies of ſuch aſſemblies, uſually feel, employed every argument to diſſuade the Emperor from conſenting to that meaſure. He repreſented general councils as factious, ungovernable, preſumptuous, formidable to civil authority, and too ſlow in their operations to remedy diſorders which required an immediate cure. Experience, he ſaid, had now taught both the Emperor and himſelf, that forbearance and lenity exaſperated the ſpirit of innovation which they ought to have mollified; it was neceſſary, therefore, to have recourſe to the rigorous methods which ſuch a deſperate caſe required; Leo's ſentence of excommunication, and the decree of the diet at Worms ſhould be carried into execution, and it was incumbent on the Emperor to employ his whole power, in order to overawe thoſe on whom the reverence due either to eccleſiaſtical or civil authority had no longer any influence. Charles, whoſe views were very different from the Pope's,

* Sleid. Hiſt. 117. † The fourteen cities were Straſburgh, Nuremburgh, Ulm, Conſtance, Reutlingen, Windſheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempten, Haſſbron, Iſna, Weiſſemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

‡ Sleid. Hiſt. 119. F. Paul. Hiſt. p. 45. Seckend. ii. 127.

and

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and who became daily more ſenſible how obſtinate and deep rooted the evil was, thought of reconciling the Proteſtants by means leſs violent, and conſidered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for that purpoſe; but promiſed, if theſe gentler arts failed of ſucceſs, that then he would exert himſelf with vigour to reduce thoſe ſtubborn enemies of the Catholic faith *.

Emperor preſent at the Diet at Augſburg. March 22, 1530.

Such were the ſentiments with which the Emperor ſet out for Germany, having already appointed a diet of the Empire to be held at Augſburgh. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of obſerving the diſpoſition of the Germans with regard to the points in controverſy, and found their minds every where ſo much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him that nothing tending to ſeverity or rigour ought to be attempted, till all other meaſures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augſburgh with extraordinary pomp; and found there ſuch a full aſſembly of the members of the diet as was ſuitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their conſideration, and to the honour of an Emperor, who, after a long abſence, returned to them crowned with reputation and ſucceſs. His preſence ſeems to have communicated to all parties an unuſual ſpirit of moderation and deſire of peace. The Elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, leſt he ſhould offend the Emperor by bringing into his preſence a perſon excommunicated by the Pope, and the author of all thoſe diſſenſions which it now appeared ſo difficult to compoſe. At the Emperor's deſire, all the Proteſtant princes forbad the divines who accompanied them to preach in publick during their reſidence at Augſburgh. For the ſame reaſon they employed Melanæthon, the man of the greateſt learning, as well as of the moſt pacific and gentle ſpirit among the Reformers, to draw up a confeſſion of their faith, expreſſed in terms as little offenſive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melanæthon, who ſeldom ſuffered the rancour of controverſy to envenom his ſtyle, even in writings purely polemical, executed a taſk ſo agreeable to his natural diſpoſition with great moderation and ſucceſs. The Creed which he compoſed, known by the name of the Confeſſion of Augſburgh,

June 15.

The confeſſion of Augſburgh.

* F. Paul, 47. Seck. l. ii. 142. Hiſt. de Confeſſ. d'Auxbourg, par D. Chytreus, 4to. Antw. 1572, p. 6.

from

1530.

from the place where it was preſented, was read publickly in the diet; ſome Popiſh divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadverſions; a diſpute enſued between them and Melancthon ſeconded by ſome of his brethren; but though Melancthon ſoftened ſome articles, made conceſſions with regard to others, and put the leaſt exceptionable ſenſe upon all; though the Emperor himſelf laboured with great earneſtneſs to reconcile the contending parties, ſo many marks of diſtinction were now eſtabliſhed, and ſuch inſuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition ſeemed utterly deſperate *.

FROM the divines, among whom his endeavours had been ſo unſucceſsful, Charles turned to the princes their patrons. Nor did he find them, how deſirous ſoever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the Emperor, more diſpoſed than the former to renounce their opinions. At that time, zeal for religion took poſſeſſion of the minds of men to a degree which can ſcarce be conceived by thoſe who live in an age when the paſſions excited by the firſt manifeſtation of truth, and the firſt recovery of liberty, have in great meaſure ceaſed to operate. This zeal was then of ſuch ſtrength as to overcome attachment to their political intereſt, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and other chiefs of the Proteſtants, though ſolicited ſeparately by the Emperor, and allured by the promiſe or proſpect of thoſe advantages which it was known they were moſt ſolicitous to attain, refuſed, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cauſe of God for the ſake of any earthly acquiſition †.

Severe decree againſt the Proteſtants.

EVERY ſcheme in order to gain or diſunite the Proteſtant party proving abortive, nothing now remained for the Emperor but to take ſome vigorous meaſures towards aſſerting the doctrines and authority of the eſtabliſhed church. Theſe, Campeggio, the Papal nuncio, had always recommended as the only proper and effectual courſe of dealing with ſuch obſtinate heretics. In compliance with his opinions and remonſtrances, the diet iſſued a decree, condemning moſt of the peculiar tenets held by the Proteſtants; forbidding any perſon to protect or tole-

Nov. 19.

* Seckend. lib. ii. 159, &c. Abr. Sculteti Annales Evangelici ap. Herm. Von der Hard. Hiſt. Liter. Reform. Lipſ. 1717. fol. p. 159.

† Sleid. 132. Scultet. Annal. 159.

rate

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rate those who taught them; enjoining a strict observance of the established rites; and prohibiting any further innovation under severe penalties. All orders of men were required to assist with their persons and fortunes in carrying this decree into execution; and such as refused to obey it were declared incapable of acting as judges, or of appearing as parties in the imperial chamber, the supreme court of judicature in the Empire. To all which was subjoined a promise that an application should be made to the Pope, requiring him to call a general council within six months, in order to terminate all controversies by its sovereign decisions *.

They enter into a league at Smalkalde.

The severity of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecutions, alarmed the Protestants, and convinced them that the Emperor was resolved on their destruction. The dread of those calamities which were ready to fall on the church, oppressed the feeble spirit of Melancthon; and as if the cause had already been desperate, he gave himself up to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther, who during the meeting of the diet had endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by several treatises which he addressed to them, was not disconcerted or dismayed at the prospect of this new danger. He comforted Melancthon and his other desponding disciples, and exhorted the princes not to abandon those truths which they had lately asserted with such laudable boldness †. His exhortations made the deeper impression upon them as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the Popish princes of the Empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded ‡. This convinced them that it was necessary to stand on their guard; and that their own safety as well as the success of their cause depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverse party, and with these sentiments concerning the conduct proper for themselves, they assembled at Smalkalde. There, they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors §, by which they formed the Protestant states of the Empire into one regular body, and beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the Kings of France and England, and to implore them to assist and patronize their new confederacy.

Decem. 22.

* Sleid. 139. † Seck. ii. 180. Sleid. 140. ‡ Seck. ii. 200. iii. 11. § Sleid. Hist. 142.

An

1530.

AN affair not connected with religion furniſhed them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whoſe ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increaſe of his power and grandeur, had formed a ſcheme of continuing the Imperial crown in his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans. The preſent juncture was favourable for the execution of that deſign. The Emperor's arms had been every where victorious; he had given law to all Europe at the late peace; no rival now remained in a condition to balance or to controul him; and the Electors, dazzled by the ſplendour of his ſucceſs, or over-awed by the greatneſs of his power, durſt ſcarce diſpute the will of a prince whoſe ſolicitations carried with them the authority of commands. Nor did he want plauſible reaſons to enforce the meaſure. The affairs of his other kingdoms, he ſaid, obliged him to be often abſent from Germany; the growing diſorders occaſioned by the controverſies about religion, as well as the formidable neighbourhood of the Turks, who continually threatened to break in with their deſolating armies into the heart of the Empire, required the conſtant preſence of a prince, endowed with prudence capable of compoſing the former, and with power and valour ſufficient to repel the latter. His brother Ferdinand poſſeſſed theſe qualities in an eminent degree; by reſiding long in Germany, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their conſtitution and manners; having been preſent almoſt from the firſt riſe of their religious diſſenſions, he knew what remedies were moſt proper, what they could bear, and how to apply them; as his own dominions lay on the Turkiſh frontier, he was the natural defender of Germany againſt the invaſions of the Infidels, being prompted by intereſt no leſs than he would be bound in duty to oppoſe them.

The Emperor propoſes to have his brother elected King of the Romans.

THESE arguments made little impreſſion on the Proteſtants. Experience taught them, that nothing had contributed more to the undiſturbed progreſs of their opinions, than the interregnum after Maximilian's death, the long abſence of Charles, and the ſlackneſs in the reins of government which theſe occaſioned; after deriving ſuch advantages from a ſtate of anarchy, they were extremely unwilling to give themſelves a new and a fixed maſter. They perceived clearly the extent of Charles's ambition, that he aimed at rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in his family, and would of courſe eſtabliſh in the Em-

The Proteſtants averſe to it.

Book V. pire an abſolute dominion, to which elective princes could not have aſpired with equal facility. They determined therefore to oppoſe Ferdinand's election with the utmoſt vigour, and to rouſe their countrymen by their example and exhortations, to withſtand this encroachment on their liberties. The Elector of Saxony accordingly, not only refuſed to be preſent in the electoral college, which the Emperor ſummoned to meet at Cologne, but inſtructed his eldeſt ſon to appear there, and to proteſt againſt the election as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of the golden bull, and ſubverſive of the liberties of the Empire. But the other Electors, whom Charles had been at great pains to gain, without regarding either his abſence or proteſt, choſe Ferdinand King of the Romans; who a few days after was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle *.

1530.

1531. January 5.

He is choſen.

Nogotiations of the Proteſtants with France.

THE account of this tranſaction, as well as of the commencement of ſome proſecutions againſt them on account of their religious principles, in the Imperial chamber, being brought to the Proteſtants, who were aſſembled a ſecond time at Smalkalde, they thought it neceſſary both to renew their former confederacy, and immediately to diſpatch their ambaſſadors into France and England. Feb. 29. Francis had obſerved, with all the jealouſy of a rival, the reputation which the Emperor had acquired by his ſeeming diſintereſtedneſs and moderation in ſettling the affairs of Italy; and beheld with great concern, the ſucceſsful ſtep which he had taken towards perpetuating and extending his authority in Germany by the election of a King of the Romans. Nothing, however, would have been more impolitic than to precipitate into a new war, his kingdom exhauſted by extraordinary efforts, and diſcouraged by ill ſucceſs, before it had got time to recruit its ſtrength, or to forget paſt misfortunes. Nor could he, when no provocation had been given, and ſcarce a pretext had been afforded him, violate a treaty of peace which he himſelf had ſo lately ſolicited, without forfeiting the eſteem of all Europe, and being deteſted as a prince void of probity and honour. He obſerved, with great joy, powerful factions beginning to form in the Empire; he liſtened with the utmoſt eagerneſs to the complaints of the Proteſtant princes; and without ſeeming to countenance their religious opini-

* Sleid. 142. Seck. iii. 1. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. x. c. 6. p. 240.

ons,

ons, determined ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe ſparks of political diſcord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. For this purpoſe, he ſent William de Bellay, one of the ableſt negotiators in France, into Germany, who viſiting the courts of the malecontent princes, and heightened their ill humour by various arts, concluded an alliance between them and his maſter *, which though concealed at that time, and productive of no immediate effects, laid the foundation of an union fatal on many occaſions to Charles's ambitious projects; and ſhewed the diſcontented princes of Germany, where they might, for the future, find a protector no leſs powerful than willing to undertake their defence againſt the encroachments of the Emperor. Book V. 1531.

With England.

The King of England, highly incenſed againſt Charles, in complaiſance to whom, the Pope had long retarded, and now openly oppoſed his divorce, was no leſs diſpoſed than Francis to ſtrengthen a league which might be rendered ſo formidable to the Emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into ſuch a labyrinth of ſchemes and negotiations, and he was, at the ſame time, ſo intent on aboliſhing the papal juriſdiction in England, that he had no leiſure for foreign affairs; and was obliged to ſatisfy himſelf with giving general promiſes, together with a ſmall ſupply in money to the confederates of Smalkalde †.

Charles courts the Proteſtants.

Meanwhile, many circumſtances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of hereſy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the Pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation; and that it was more his intereſt to conſolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. The Proteſtants, already conſiderable by their numbers, and their zeal, had now acquired additional weight and importance by their joining in that confederacy into which the raſh ſteps taken at Augſburgh had forced them. Having now diſcovered their own ſtrength, they deſpiſed the deciſions of the Imperial chamber; and being ſecure of foreign protection, were ready to ſet the head of the Empire at defiance. At the ſame time his peace with France was precarious, the friendſhip of an ir-

* Bellay, 129, a. 130, b. Seck. iii. 14.
† Herbert, 132, 154.

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resolute and interested pontiff was not to be relied on; and Solyman, in order to repair the infamy and loss which his arms had sustained in the former campaign, was preparing to enter Austria with more numerous forces. On all these accounts, especially the last, a speedy accommodation with the malecontent princes, was necessary not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. Negotiations were, accordingly, carried on by his direction with the Elector of Saxony and his associates; after many delays occasioned by the jealousy of the Emperor, and of each other, after innumerable difficulties arising from the inflexible nature of religious tenets, which cannot admit of being altered, modified, or relinquished in the same manner as points of political interest, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the Diet at Ratisbon. In this treaty, it was stipulated, That universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within six months the Emperor shall endeavour to procure; That no person be molested on account of religion; That a stop be put to all processes begun by the Imperial chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the Emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks *. Thus by their firmness in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the Emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion; all the concessions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the Protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious sect, came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence †.

Grants them favourable terms.

July 23. August 3.

Campaign in Hungary.

The intelligence which Charles received of Solyman's having entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thousand men cut short the deliberations of the Diet at Ratisbon; the contingent both of troops and money which each prince was to furnish towards the defence of the Empire having been already settled. The Protestants, as a

* Du Mont Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. 87, 89.
† Sleid. 149, &c. Seck. iii. 19.

testimony

teſtimony of their gratitude to the Emperor, exerted themſelves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces that exceeded in number the quota impoſed on them; and the Catholics imitating their example, one of the greateſt and beſt appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany, aſſembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spaniſh and Italian veterans under the marquis del Guaſto; by ſome heavy armed cavalry from the Low-Countries; and by the troops which Ferdinand had raiſed in Bohemia, Auſtria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to ninety thouſand diſciplined foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, beſides a prodigious ſwarm of irregulars. Of this vaſt army, worthy the firſt prince in Chriſtendom, the Emperor took the command in perſon; and mankind waited in ſuſpenſe the iſſue of a deciſive battle between the two greateſt Monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's power and good fortune, they both conducted their operations with ſuch exceſſive caution, that a campaign, for which ſuch immenſe preparations had been made, ended without any memorable event. Solyman finding it impoſſible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive, and on his guard, marched back to Conſtantinople towards the end of autumn *. It is remarkable that in ſuch a martial age, when every gentleman was a ſoldier, and every prince a general, this was the firſt time that Charles, who had already carried on ſuch extenſive wars, and gained ſo many victories, appeared at the head of his troops. In this firſt eſſay of his arms, to have oppoſed ſuch a leader as Solyman, was no ſmall honour; to have obliged him to retreat merited very conſiderable praiſe.

September and October.

About the beginning of this campaign, the Elector of Saxony died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon John Frederick. The Reformation rather gained than loſt by that event; the new Elector, no leſs attached than his predeceſſors to the opinions of Luther, occupied the ſtation which they held at the head of the Proteſtant party, and defended, with the boldneſs and zeal of youth, the cauſe which they had foſtered and reared with the caution of old age.

Auguſt 16.

Immediately after the retreat of the Turks, Charles, impatient to reviſit Spain, ſet out, on his way thither, for

The Emperor's interview with the Pope in his way to Spain.

* Jovii Hiſt. lib. 30. p. 100, &c. Barre Hiſt. de l'Empire, i. 8. 347.

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Italy. As he was extremely desirous of an interview with the Pope, they met a second time at Bologna, with the same external demonstrations of respect and friendship, but with little of that confidence which had subsisted between them during their late negotiations there. Clement was much dissatisfied with the Emperor's proceedings at Augsburgh; his concessions with regard to the speedy convocation of a council, having more than cancelled all the merit of the severe decree against the doctrines of the Reformers. The toleration granted to the Protestants at Ratisbon, and the more explicit promise concerning a council with which it was accompanied, had irritated him still farther. Charles, however, partly from conviction that the meeting of a council would be attended with salutary effects, and partly from his desire to please the Germans, having solicited him by his ambassadors to call that assembly without delay, and now urging the same thing in person, Clement was greatly embarrassed what reply he should make to a request, which it was indecent to refuse, and dangerous to grant. He endeavoured at first to divert Charles from the measure, but finding him inflexible, he had recourse to artifices which he knew would delay, if not entirely defeat the calling of that assembly. Under the plausible pretext of its being previously necessary to settle, with all parties concerned, the place of the council's meeting; the manner of its proceedings; the right of the persons who should be admitted to vote; and the authority of their decisions; he dispatched a nuncio, accompanied by an ambassador from the Emperor, to the Elector of Saxony as head of the Protestants. With regard to each of these articles, inextricable difficulties and contests arose. The Protestants demanded a council to be held in Germany; the Pope insisted that it should meet in Italy; they contended that all points in dispute should be determined by the words of holy scripture alone; he considered the decrees of the church, and the opinions of fathers and doctors as of equal authority; they required a free council in which the divines commissioned by different churches should be allowed a voice; he aimed at modelling the council in such a manner as would render it entirely dependent on his pleasure: Above all, the Protestants thought it unreasonable that they should bind themselves to submit to the decrees of a council, before they knew on what principles these decrees were to be founded, by what persons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding they would

Negotiations concerning a general council,

would obſerve. The Pope maintained it to be altogether unneceſſary to call a council, if thoſe who demanded it did not previouſly declare their reſolution to acquieſce in its decrees. In order to adjuſt ſuch a variety of points, many expedients were propoſed, and the negotiations ſpun out to ſuch a length, as effectually anſwered Clement's purpoſe of putting off the meeting of a council, without drawing on himſelf the whole infamy of obſtructing a meaſure which all Europe deemed ſo eſſential to the good of the church *. Book V. 1532.

and for preſerving the tranquillity of Italy.

TOGETHER with this negotiation about calling a council, the Emperor carried on another which he had ſtill more at heart, for ſecuring the peace eſtabliſhed in Italy. As Francis had renounced his pretenſions in that country with great reluctance, Charles made no doubt but that he would lay hold on the firſt pretext afforded him, or embrace the firſt opportunity which preſented itſelf of recovering what he had loſt. It became neceſſary, on this account, to take meaſures for aſſembling an army able to oppoſe him. As his treaſury, drained by a long war, could not ſupply the ſums requiſite for keeping ſuch a body conſtantly on foot, he attempted to throw that burden on his allies, and to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions at their expence, by propoſing that the Italian ſtates ſhould enter into a league of defence againſt all invaders; that, on the firſt appearance of danger, an army ſhould be raiſed and maintained at the common charge; and that Antonio de Leyva ſhould be appointed the generaliſſimo. Nor was the propoſal unacceptable to Clement, tho' for a reaſon very different from that which induced the Emperor to make it. He hoped, by this expedient, to deliver Italy from the German and Spaniſh veterans which had ſo long filled all the powers in that country with terror, and ſtill kept them in ſubjection to the Imperial yoke. A league was accordingly concluded; all the Italian ſtates, the Venetians excepted, acceded to it; the ſum which each of the contracting parties ſhould furniſh towards maintaining the army was fixed; the Emperor agreed to withdraw the troops which gave ſo much umbrage to his allies, and which he was unable any longer to ſupport. Having diſbanded part of them, and removed the reſt to Sicily and Spain he embarked on board Doria's gallies, and arrived at Barcelona †.

1533. Feb. 24. April 22.

* F. Paul. Hiſt. 61. Seckend. iii. 73. Ferreras. ix. 149.

† Guic. l. xx. 551.

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1533. Designs and negotiations of the French king againſt the Emperor;

NOTWITHSTANDING all his precautions for ſecurin the peace of Germany and maintaining that ſyſtem which he had eſtabliſhed in Italy, the Emperor became every day more and more apprehenſive that both would be ſoon diſturbed by the intrigues or arms of the French King. His apprehenſions were well founded, as nothing but the deſperate ſituation of his affairs could have brought Francis to give his conſent to a treaty ſo diſhonourable and diſadvantageous as that of Cambray: He, at the very time of ratifying it, had formed a reſolution to obſerve it no longer than neceſſity compelled him, and took a ſolemn proteſt, though with the moſt profound ſecrecy, againſt ſeveral articles in the treaty, particularly that whereby he renounced all pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, as unjuſt, injurious to his heirs, and invalid. One of the crown lawyers, by his command, entered a proteſt to the ſame purpoſe, and with the like ſecrecy, when the ratification of the treaty was regiſtered in the parliament of Paris *; and Francis ſeems to have thought that, by employing an artifice unworthy of a King, deſtructive of public faith, and of the mutual confidence on which all tranſactions between nations are founded, he was releaſed from any obligation to perform the moſt ſolemn promiſes, or to adhere to the moſt ſacred engagements. From the moment he concluded the peace of Cambray, he wiſhed and watched for an opportunity of violating it with ſafety. He endeavoured for that reaſon to ſtrengthen his alliance with the King of England, whoſe friendſhip he cultivated with the greateſt aſſiduity. He put the military force of his own kingdom on a better and more reſpectable footing than ever. He artfully fomented the jealouſy and diſcontent of the German princes.

particularly with the Pope.

BUT above all, Francis laboured to break the ſtrict confederacy which ſubſiſted between Charles and Clement; and he had ſoon the ſatisfaction to obſerve appearances of diſguſt and alienation ariſing in the mind of that ſuſpicious and intereſted Pontiff, which gave him hopes that their union would not be laſting. As the Emperor's deciſion in favour of the duke of Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope, Francis aggravated the injuſtice of that proceeding, and flattered him that the Papal ſee would find in him a more impartial and no leſs powerful protector. As the importunity with which

* Du Mont. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 52.

Charles

Charlee demanded a council was extremely offenſive to the Pope, Francis artfully created obſtacles to prevent it, and attempted to divert the German princes, his allies, from inſiſting ſo obſtinately on that point *. As the Emperor had gained ſuch an aſcendant over Clement by contributing to aggrandize his family, Francis endeavoured to allure him by the ſame irreſiſtible bait, propoſing a marriage between his ſecond ſon Henry duke of Orleans, and Catharine the daughter of the Pope's couſin Laurence di Medici. On the firſt overtures of this match, the Emperor could not perſuade himſelf that Francis really intended to debaſe the royal blood of France by an alliance with Catharine, whoſe anceſtors had been ſo lately private citizens and merchants in Florence, and believed that he meant only to flatter or amuſe the ambitious Pontiff. He thought it neceſſary, however, to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a dazzling offer might have made, by promiſing to break off the marriage which had been agreed on between his own niece the King of Denmark's daughter, and the Duke of Milan, and to ſubſtitute Catharine in her place. But the French ambaſſadors producing unexpectedly full powers to conclude the marriage treaty with the duke of Orleans, this expedient had no effect. Clement was ſo highly pleaſed with an honour which added ſuch luſtre and dignity to the houſe of Medici, that he offered to grant Catharine the inveſtiture of conſiderable territories in Italy by way of portion; he ſeemed ready to ſupport Francis in proſecuting his ancient claims in that country, and conſented to a perſonal interview with that Monarch †.

Interview between the Pope and Francis.

CHARLES was at the utmoſt pains to prevent a meeting, in which nothing was likely to paſs but what would be of detriment to him; nor could he bear, after he had twice condeſcended to viſit the Pope in his own territories, that Clement ſhould beſtow ſuch a mark of diſtinction on his rival, as to venture on a voyage by ſea, at an unfavourable ſeaſon, in order to pay court to Francis in the French dominions. But the Pope's eagerneſs to accompliſh the match overcame all ſcruples of pride, or fear, or jealouſy, which muſt have influenced him on any other occaſion. The interview, notwithſtanding ſeveral artifices of the Emperor to prevent it, took place

* Bellay, 141, &c. Seck. iii. 48. F. Paul, 63.

† Guic. l. xx. 551, 533. Bellay, 138.

at

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1533. October.

at Marſeilles with extraordinary pomp, and demonſtrations of confidence on both ſides; and the marriage, which the ambition and abilities of Catharine rendered in the ſequal as fatal to France, as it was then thought diſhonourable, was conſummated. But whatever ſchemes may have been ſecretly concerted by the Pope and Francis in favour of the duke of Orleans, to whom his father propoſed to make over all his rights in Italy, ſo careful were they to avoid giving any cauſe of offence to the Emperor, that no treaty was concluded between them *; and even in the marriage-articles, Catharine renounced all claims and pretenſions in Italy, except to the dutchy of Urbino †.

Pope's conduct with regard to the King of England's divorce.

But at the very time when he was carrying on theſe negotiations, and forming this connection with Francis, which gave ſo great umbrage to the Emperor, ſuch was the artifice and duplicity of Clement's character, that he ſuffered the latter to direct all his proceedings with regard to the King of England, and was no leſs attentive to gratify him in that particular, than if the moſt cordial union had ſtill ſubſiſted between them. Henry's ſuit for a divorce had now continued near ſix years; during all which period the Pope negotiated, promiſed, retracted, and concluded nothing. After bearing repeated delays and diſappointments, longer than could have been expected from a prince of ſuch a cholerick and impetuous temper, his patience was at laſt ſo much exhauſted, that he applied to another tribunal for that decree which he had ſolicited in vain at Rome. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, by a ſentence founded on the authority of Univerſities, Doctors, and Rabbies, who had been conſulted with reſpect to the point, annulled the King's marriage with Catharine; her daughter was declared illegitimate; and Anne Boleyn acknowledged as Queen of England. At the ſame time Henry began to neglect and to threaten the Pope whom he had hitherto courted, and to make innovations in the church, of which he had formerly been ſuch a zealous defender. Clement, who had already ſeen ſo many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the Holy See, became apprehenſive at laſt that England would imitate their example, and partly from his ſolicitude to prevent that fatal blow, partly in compliance with the French King's ſolicitations, determined to give

* Guic. l. xx. 555. † Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. 101.

Henry

Henry ſuch ſatisfaction as might ſtill retain him within the boſom of the church. But the violence of the Cardinals, devoted to the Emperor, did not allow the Pope leiſure for executing this prudent reſolution, and hurried him with a precipitation fatal to the Roman ſee, to iſſue March 23. a bull reſcinding Cranmer's ſentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time ſpecified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deſerted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any meaſures with the court of Rome; his ſubjects ſeconded his reſentment and indignation; an act of parliament was paſſed, aboliſhing the Papal power and juriſdiction in England; by another, the King was declared ſupreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the Popes were deprived was veſted in him. That vaſt fabrick of eccleſiaſtical dominion which had been raiſed with ſuch art, and whoſe foundations ſeemed ſo deep, being no longer ſupported by the veneration of the people, was overturned in a moment. Henry himſelf, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romiſh churchas fiercely as he attacked its juriſdiction. He alternately perſecuted the Proteſtants for rejecting the former, and the Catholicks for acknowledging the latter. But his ſubjects being once permitted to enter into new paths, did not chooſe to ſtop ſhort at the preciſe point preſcribed by him. Having been encouraged by his example to break ſome of their fetters, they were ſo impatient to ſhake off all that remained *, that in the following reign, with the general applauſe of the nation, a total ſeparation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of diſcipline and juriſdiction.

Papal authority aboliſhed in England.

A SHORT delay might have ſaved the See of Rome from all the unhappy conſequences of Clement's raſhneſs. Soon after his ſentence againſt Henry, he fell into a languiſhing diſtemper, which gradually waſting his conſtitution, put an end to its Pontificate, the moſt unfortunate, both during its continuance, and by its effects, that the church had known for many ages. The very day on which the Cardinals entered the conclave, they raiſed to the Papal throne Alexander Farneſe, dean of the ſacred college, and the eldeſt member of that body, who aſſumed

Death of Clement VII. Sept. 25.

Election of Paul III. Oct. 13.

* Herbert. Burn. Hiſt. of Reform.

the

Book V. 1534. the name of Paul III. The account of his promotion was received with extraordinary acclamations of joy by the people of Rome, highly pleaſed, after an interval of more than an hundred years to ſee the crown of St. Peter placed on the head of a Roman citizen. Perſons more capable of judging, formed a favourable preſage of his adminiſtration, from the experience which he had acquired under four pontificates, as well as the character of prudence and moderation which he had uniformly maintained in a ſtation of great eminence, and during an active and difficult juncture that required both talents and addreſs *.

EUROPE, it is probable, owed the continuance of its peace to the death of Clement; for although no traces remain in hiſtory of any league concluded between him and Francis, it is ſcarce to be doubted but that he would have ſeconded the operations of the French arms in Italy, that he might have gratified his ambition by ſeeing one of his family poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power in Florence, and another in Milan. But upon the election of Paul III. who had hitherto adhered uniformly to the Imperial intereſt, Francis found it neceſſary to ſuſpend his operations for ſome time, and to put off the commencement of hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, on which he was fully determined.

Inſurrection of the Anabaptiſts in Germany.

WHILE Francis waited for an opportunity to renew a war which had hitherto proved ſo fatal to himſelf and his ſubjects, a tranſaction of a very ſingular nature was carried on in Germany. Among many beneficial and ſalutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cauſe, it was attended, as muſt be the caſe, in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with ſome conſequences of an oppoſite nature. When the human mind is rouzed by grand objects, and agitated by ſtrong paſſions, its operations acquire ſuch force, that they are apt to become irregular and extravagant. Upon any great revolution in religion, ſuch irregularities abound moſt, at that particular period, when men having thrown off the authority of their ancient principles, do not yet fully comprehend the nature, or feel the obligation of thoſe new ones which they have embraced. The mind, in that ſituation, puſhing forward with the boldneſs which prompted it to reject eſtabliſhed opinions, and not guided by a clear knowledge of the ſyſtem ſubſtituted in their

* Guic. l. 20. 556. F. Paul. 64.

place,

place, diſdains all reſtraint, and runs into wild notions, that often lead to ſcandalous or immoral conduct. Thus, in the firſt ages of the Chriſtian church, many of the new converts, having renounced their ancient Creeds, and being but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of Chriſtianity, broached the moſt extravagant opinions equally ſubverſive of piety and virtue; all which errors diſappeared or were exploded when the knowledge of religion increaſed, and came to be more generally diffuſed. In like manner, ſoon after Luther's appearance, the raſhneſs or ignorance of ſome of his diſciples led them to publiſh abſurd and pernicious tenets, which being propoſed to men extremely illiterate, but fond of novelty, and at a time when their minds were turned wholly towards religious ſpeculations, gained too eaſy credit and authority among them. To theſe cauſes muſt be imputed the extravagancies of Munſter, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-five, as well as the rapid progreſs which they made among the peaſants; but though the inſurrection excited by that Fanatic was ſoon ſuppreſſed, ſeveral of his followers lurked in different places, and endeavoured privately to propagate his opinions.

Origin and tenets of that ſect.

In thoſe provinces of Upper Germany, which had already been ſo cruelly waſted by their enthuſiaſtic rage, the magiſtrates watched their motions with ſuch ſevere attention, that many of them found it neceſſary to retire into other countries, ſome were puniſhed, others driven into exile, and their errors were entirely rooted out. But in the Netherlands and Weſtphalia, where the pernicious tendency of their opinions was more unknown, and guarded againſt with leſs care, they got admittance into ſeveral towns, and ſpread the infection of their principles. The moſt remarkable of their religious tenets related to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, which, as they contended, ought to be adminiſtred only to perſons grown up to years of underſtanding, and ſhould be performed not by ſprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it: For this reaſon they condemned the baptiſm of infants, and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their ſociety, the ſect came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Anabaptiſts. To this peculiar notion concerning baptiſm, which has the appearance of being founded on the practice of the church in the apoſtolic age, and contains nothing inconſiſtent with the peace and order of human ſociety,

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ſociety, they added other principles of a moſt enthuſiaſtic as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that among Chriſtians who had the precepts of the goſpel to direct, and the ſpirit of God to guide them, the office of magiſtracy was not only unneceſſary, but an unlawful encroachment on their ſpiritual liberty; that the diſtinctions occaſioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel, which conſiders all men as equal, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed; that all Chriſtians throwing their poſſeſſions into one common ſtock, ſhould live together in that ſtate of equality which becomes members of the ſame family; that as neither the laws of nature, nor the precepts of the New Teſtament had placed any reſtraints upon men with regard to the number of wives which they might marry, they ſhould uſe that liberty which God himſelf had granted to the patriarchs.

Settle in Munſter.

SUCH opinions, propagated and maintained with enthuſiaſtic zeal and boldneſs, were not long of producing the violent effects natural to them. Two Anabaptiſt prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Bocold, or Beükels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, poſſeſſed with the rage of making proſelytes, fixed their reſidence at Munſter, an Imperial city in Weſtphalia, of the firſt rank, under the ſovereignty of its biſhop, but governed by its own ſenate and conſuls. As neither of theſe Fanatics wanted the talents neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, great reſolution, the appearance of ſanctity, bold pretenſions to inſpiration, and a confident and plauſible manner of diſcourſing, they ſoon gained many converts. Among theſe were Rothman, who had firſt preached the Proteſtant doctrine in Munſter, and Cnipperdoling, a citizen of good birth, and conſiderable eminence. Emboldened by the countenance of ſuch diſciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not ſatisfed with that liberty, they made ſeveral attempts, though without ſucceſs to ſeize the town, in order to get their tenets eſtabliſhed by publick authority. At laſt,

Become maſters of that city.

having ſecretly called in their aſſociates from the neighbouring country, they ſuddenly took poſſeſſion of the arſenal and ſenate-houſe in the night time, and running through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent, and be baptized," and "Depart ye ungodly." The ſenators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more ſober citizens, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, terrified at their

February.

threats

threats and outcries, fled in confuſion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantic multitude, conſiſting chiefly of ſtrangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or controul them, they ſet about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at firſt they ſhewed ſo much reverence for the ancient conſtitution, as to elect ſenators of their own ſect, and to appoint Cnipperdoling and another proſelyte conſuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who in the ſtile, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was inſtant death to diſobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the churches, and deface their ornaments; he enjoined them to deſtroy all books except the Bible, as uſeleſs or impious; he appointed the eſtates of ſuch as fled to be confiſcated, and ſold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he ordered every man to bring forth his gold, ſilver, and precious effects, and to lay them at his feet; the wealth amaſſed by theſe means, he depoſited in a publick treaſury, and named deacons to diſpenſe it for the common uſe of all. The members of his commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in public, and even preſcribed the diſhes which were to be ſerved up each day. Having finiſhed his plan of Reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took meaſures for that purpoſe with a prudence which ſavoured nothing of fanaticiſm. He collected vaſt magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every perſon without diſtinction to work in his turn; he formed ſuch as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the vigour of diſcipline to the impetuoſity of enthuſiaſm. He ſent emiſſaries to the Anabaptiſts in the Low-Countries, inviting them to aſſemble at Munſter which he dignified with the name of Mount-Sion, that from thence they might ſet out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He himſelf was unwearied in attending to every thing neceſſary for the ſecurity or increaſe of the ſect; animating his diſciples by his own example to refuſe no labour, as well as to repine at no hardſhip; and their enthuſiaſtic paſſions being kept from ſubſiding by a perpetual ſucceſſion of exhortations, revelations and prophecies, they ſeemed

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Eſtabliſh a new form of government.

Book V. seemed ready to undertake or to ſuffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions.

1534. The biſhop of Munſter takes arms againſt them. MEANWHILE, the biſhop of Munſter having aſſembled a conſiderable army, advanced to beſiege the town. On his approach, Matthias ſallied out at the head of ſome choſen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after great ſlaughter, returned to the city loaded with glory and ſpoil. Intoxicated with this ſucceſs, he appeared next day brandiſhing a ſpear, and declared, that in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men and ſmite the hoſt of the ungodly. Thirty

May. perſons, whom he named, followed him without heſitation in this wild enterprize, and ruſhing on the enemy with a frantic courage, were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occaſioned at firſt great conſternation among his diſciples, but Boccold, by the ſame gifts and pretenſions which had gained Matthias credit, ſoon revived their ſpirits and hopes to ſuch a degree, that he ſucceeded him in the ſame abſolute direction of all their affairs. As he did not poſſeſs that enterprizing courage which diſtinguiſhed his predeceſſor, he ſatisfied himſelf with carrying on a defenſive war, and without attempting to annoy the enemy by ſallies, he waited for the ſuccours he expected from the Low-Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promiſed by their prophets. But though leſs daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthuſiaſt, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his predeceſſor, having by obſcure viſions, and propheſies, prepared the multitude for ſome extraordinary event, he ſtripped himſelf naked, and marching through the ſtreets, proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was higheſt on earth ſhould be brought low, and whatever was loweſt ſhould be exalted." In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the moſt lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the ſenators choſen by Matthias, and depriving Cnipperdoling of the conſulſhip, the higheſt office in the commonwealth, he appointed him to execute the loweſt and moſt infamous, that of common hangman, to which ſtrange tranſition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmoſt joy; and ſuch was the deſpotiſm and rigour of Boccold's adminiſtration, that he was called almoſt every day to perform ſome duty or other of his wretched function. In place of the depoſed ſena-

John of Leyden acquires great authority among the Anabaptiſts.

tors,

tors, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Iſrael, to preſide in all affairs; retaining to himſelf the ſame authority which Moſes anciently poſſeſſed as legiſlator of that people. Book V. 1534.

NOT ſatisfied, however, with power or titles which were not ſupreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold ſhould be King of Sion, and ſit on the throne of David. John kneeling down, accepted of the heavenly call, which he ſolemnly proteſted had been revealed likewiſe to himſelf, and was immediately acknowledged as Monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he aſſumed all the ſtate and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and the richeſt and moſt ſumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked ſword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public. He coined money ſtamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his houſhold and kingdom, among whom Cnipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former ſubmiſſion. Elected King. June 24.

HAVING now attained the height of power, Boccold began to diſcover paſſions, which he had hitherto reſtrained or indulged only in ſecret. As the exceſſes of enthuſiaſm have been obſerved in every age to lead to ſenſual gratifications, the ſame conſtitution that is ſuſceptible of the former, being remarkably prone to the latter, he inſtructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for ſeveral days concerning the lawfulneſs, and even neceſſity of taking more wives than one, which they aſſerted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the ſaints. When their ears were once accuſtomed to this licentious doctrine, and their paſſions inflamed with the proſpect of ſuch unbounded indulgence, he himſelf ſet them an example of uſing what he called their Chriſtian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among which the widow of Matthias, a woman of ſingular beauty was one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives until they amounted to the number of fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of Queen, or who ſhared with him the ſplendor and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave His licentious tenets and conduct.

Book V.

1534.

themſelves up to the moſt licentious and uncontrouled gratification of their deſires. No man remained ſatisfied with a ſingle wife. Not to uſe their chriſtian liberty was deemed a crime. Perſons were appointed to ſearch the houſes for young women grown up to maturity, whom they inſtantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inſeparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new ſource of corruption. Every exceſs was committed, of which the paſſions of men are capable, when reſtrained neither by the authority of laws nor the ſenſe of decency *; and by a monſtrous and almoſt incredible conjunction, voluptuouſneſs was engrafted on religion, and diſſolute riot accompanied the auſterities of fanatical devotion.

A confederacy againſt the Anabaptiſts.

MEANWHILE, the German princes were highly offended at the inſult offered to their dignity by Boccold's preſumptuous uſurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Chriſtian name, filled men of all profeſſions with horror. Luther who had teſtified againſt this fanatical ſpirit on its firſt appearance, now deeply lamented its progreſs, and expoſing the deluſion with great ſtrength of argument, as well as acrimony of ſtile, called loudly on all the ſtates of Germany to put a ſtop to a phrenzy no leſs pernicious to ſociety, than fatal to religion. The Emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had no leiſure to attend to ſuch a diſtant object. But the princes of the Empire, aſſembled by the King of the Romans, voted a ſupply of men and money to the biſhop of Munſter, who being unable to keep a ſufficient army on foot, had converted the ſiege of the town into a blockade.

Munſter beſieged.

The forces raiſed in conſequence of this reſolution were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the town towards the end of ſpring in the

* Prophetæ & concionatorum autoritate juxta et exemplo, tota urbe ad rapiendas pulcherrimas quaſque fæminas diſcurſum eſt. Nec intra paucos dies, in tanta hominum turba, fere ulla reperta eſt ſupra animum decimum quartum, quæ ſtuprum paſſa non fuerit. Lamb. Hortenſ. p. 303. Vulgò viris quinas eſſe uxores, pluribus ſenas, nonnullis ſeptenas & octonas. Puellas ſupra duodecimum ætatis annum ſtatim amare. Id. 305. Nemo una contentus fuit, neque cuiquam extra effætas & viris immaturas continenti eſſe licuit. Id. 307. Tacebo hic, ut ſit ſuus honor auribus, quanta barbarie et malitia uſi ſunt in puellis vitiandis nondum aptis matrimoniæ, id quod mihi neque ex vano, neque ex vulgi ſermonibus hauſtum eſt, ſed ex ea vetula, cui cura ſic vitiatarum demandata fuit, auditum. Joh. Corvinus, 316.

year

year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, preſſed it more cloſely than formerly, but found the fortifications ſo ſtrong, and ſo diligently guarded, that he durſt not attempt an aſſault. It was now above fifteen months ſince the Anabaptiſts had eſtabliſhed their dominion in Munſter; they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications, and performing military duty. Notwithſtanding the prudent attention of their King to provide for their ſubſiſtence, and his frugal and regular œconomy in their publick meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several ſmall bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their aſſiſtance from the Low-Countries, had been intercepted, and cut to pieces; and while all Germany was ready to combine againſt them, they had no proſpect of ſuccour. But ſuch was the aſcendant which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and ſo powerful the faſcination of enthuſiaſm, that their hopes were as ſanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the viſions and predictions of their prophets, which aſſured them, that the Almighty would ſpeedily interpoſe, in order to deliver the city. The faith however, of ſome few, ſhaken by the violence and length of their ſufferings, began to fail; but being ſuſpected of an inclination to ſurrender to the enemy, they were puniſhed with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in diſtruſting the power of God. One of the King's wives, having uttered certain words that implied ſome doubt concerning his divine miſſion, he inſtantly called the whole number together, and commanding the blaſphemer, as he called her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands; and ſo far were the reſt from expreſſing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing with a frantick joy around the bleeding body of their companion.

May. Diſtreſs and fanaticiſm of the beſieged.

By this time, the beſieged endured the utmoſt rigor of famine; but they choſe rather to ſuffer hardſhips, the recital of which is ſhocking to humanity, than to liſten to the terms of capitulation offered them by the biſhop. At laſt, a deſerter, whom they had taken into their ſervice, being either leſs intoxicated with the fumes of enthuſiaſm, or unable any longer to bear ſuch diſtreſs, made his eſcape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had obſerved, and aſſuring him that the beſieged, exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a par-

The city taken. June 1.

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1535. June 24.

ty thither in the night. The propoſal was accepted, and a choſen body of troops appointed for the ſervice; who ſcaling the walls unperceived, ſeized one of the gates, and admitted the reſt of the army. The Anabaptiſts, though ſurprized, defended themſelves in the market place with valour, heightened by deſpair; but being overpowered by numbers, and ſurrounded on every hand, moſt of them were ſlain, and the remainder taken priſoners. Among the laſt were the King and Cnipperdoling.

Puniſhment of the King and his aſſociates.

The King, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a ſpectacle to gratify the curioſity of the people, and was expoſed to all their inſults. His ſpirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this ſad reverſe of his condition; and he adhered with unſhaken firmneſs to the diſtinguiſhing tenets of his ſect. After this, he was brought back to Munſter, the ſcene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the moſt exquiſite and lingering tortures, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing fortitude. This extraordinary man who had been able to acquire ſuch amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions ſo dangerous to ſociety, was only twenty-ſix years of age. *

Character of the ſect ſince that period.

TOGETHER with its Monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptiſts came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low-Countries, the party ſtill ſubſiſts there, under the name of Mennonites; but by a very ſingular revolution, this ſect, ſo mutinous and ſanguinary at its firſt origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themſelves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their induſtry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human ſociety for the violence committed by their founders †. A ſmall number of this ſect which is ſettled in England, retain its peculiar tenets concerning baptiſm, but without any dangerous mixture of enthuſiaſm.

Proceedings and authority of the league of Smalkalde.

THE mutiny of the Anabaptiſts, though it drew general attention, did not ſo entirely engroſs the princes of Germany, as not to allow leiſure for other tranſactions.

* Sleid. 190, &c. Tumultuum Anabaptiſtarum Liber unus. Ant. Lamberto Hortenſio auctore ap. Scardium vol. 2. p. 298, &c. De Miſerabili Monaſterienſium obſidione, &c. libellus Antonii Corvini ap. Scard. 313. Annales Anabaptiſtici, a Joh. Henrico Ottio, 4to. Baſileæ, 1672. Cor. Heerſbachius Hiſt. Anab. Edit. 1637. p. 140. † Bayle Diction. Art. Anabaptiſtes.

The

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The alliance between the French King and the confederates at Smalkalde, began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric, Duke of Wurtemberg, having been expelled his dominions in the year one thouſand five hundred and nineteen, on account of his violent and oppreſſive adminiſtration, the houſe of Auſtria had got poſſeſſion of his dutchy. That prince having now by a long exile atoned for the errors in his conduct, which were the effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical diſpoſition, was become the object of general compaſſion. The Landgrave of Heſſe, in particular, his near relation, warmly eſpouſed his intereſt, and uſed many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obſtinately refuſed to relinquiſh a valuable acquiſition which his family had made with ſo much eaſe. The Landgrave, unable to compel him, applied to the King of France his new ally. Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of diſtreſſing the houſe of Auſtria, and deſirous of wreſting from it a territory, which gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany at a diſtance from its other dominions, encouraged the Landgrave to take arms, and ſecretly ſupplied him with a large ſum of money. This he employed to raiſe troops, and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated, and diſperſed a conſiderable body of Auſtrians, entruſted with the defence of the country. All the Duke's ſubjects haſtened, with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and re-inveſted him with that authority which is ſtill enjoyed by his deſcendants. At the ſame time the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed in his dominions *.

The King of the Romans courts them.

FERDINAND, how ſenſible ſoever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince whom all the Proteſtant powers in Germany were ready to ſupport, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which he recognized in the moſt ample form his title to the dutchy. The ſucceſs of the Landgrave's operations in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemberg, having convinced Ferdinand that a rupture with a league ſo formidable as that of Smalkalde, was to be avoided with the utmoſt care, he entered likewiſe into a negotiation with the Elector of Saxony, the head of that union, and by ſome conceſſions in favour of the Proteſtant religion, and others of advantage to the

* Sleid. 172. Bellay, 159, &c.

Book V. 1535. Elector himſelf, he prevailed on him together with his confederates to acknowledge his title as King of the Romans. At the ſame time, in order to prevent any ſuch precipitate or irregular election in times to come, it was agreed that no perſon ſhould hereafter be promoted to that dignity without the unanimous conſent of the Electors; and the emperor ſoon after confirmed this ſtipulation *.

Paul. III. calls a general council to meet at Mantua.

THESE acts of indulgence towards the Proteſtants, and the cloſe union into which the King of the Romans ſeemed to be entering with the Princes of that party, gave great offence at Rome. Paul III. though he had departed from a reſolution of his predeceſſor, never to conſent to the calling of a general council, and had promiſed, in the firſt conſiſtory held after his election, that he would convoke that aſſembly ſo much deſired by all Chriſtendom, was no leſs enraged than Clement at the innovations in Germany, and no leſs averſe to any ſcheme for reforming either the doctrines of the church, or the abuſes in the court of Rome: But having been a witneſs of the univerſal cenſure which Clement had incurred by his obſtinacy with regard to theſe points, he hoped to avoid the ſame reproach by the ſeeming alacrity with which he propoſed a council; flattering himſelf, however, that ſuch difficulties would ariſe concerning the time and place of meeting, the perſons who had a right to be preſent, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of thoſe who demanded that aſſembly, without expoſing himſelf to any imputation for refuſing to call it. With this view he diſpatched nuncios to the ſeveral courts, in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua as a proper place in which to hold the council. Such difficulties as the Pope had foreſeen, immediately preſented themſelves in great number. The French King did not approve of the place which Paul had choſen, as the Papal and Imperial influence would neceſſarily be too great in a town ſituated in that part of Italy. The King of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refuſed, beſides, to acknowledge any council called in the name and by the authority of the Pope. The German Proteſtants having met together at Smalkalde, inſiſted on their original demand of a council to be held in Germany, and pleading the emperor's promiſe, as well as the agreement at Ra-

Dec. 12.

* Sleid. 173. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. p. 2. 119.

tiſbon

tiſbon to that effect, declared that they would not conſider an aſſembly held at Mantua as a legal or free repreſentative of the church. By this diverſity of ſentiments and views, ſuch a field for intrigue and negotiation opened, as made it eaſy for the Pope to aſſume the merit of being eager to aſſemble a council, while at the ſame time he could put off its meeting at pleaſure. The Proteſtants on the other hand ſuſpecting his deſigns, and ſenſible of the importance which they derived from their union, renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became ſtronger and more formidable by the acceſſion of ſeveral new members *.

The Emperor's expedition to Africa, and ſtate of that country.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Germany, the Emperor undertook his famous enterprize againſt the piratical ſtates in Arica. That part of the African continent lying along the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Maſſylia, together with the republick of Carthage, and which is now known by the general name of Barbary, had undergone many revolutions. Subdued by the Romans, it became a province of their empire. Conquered afterwards by the Vandals, they erected a kingdom there. That being overturned by Beliſarius, the country continued ſubject to the Greek Emperors, until it was over-run towards the end of the ſeventh century, by the rapid and irreſiſtible arms of the Arabs. It remained for ſome time a part of that vaſt empire of which the Caliphs were the head. Its immenſe diſtance, however, from the ſeat of government, encouraged the deſcendants of thoſe leaders, who had ſubdued the country, or the chiefs of the Moors, its ancient inhabitants, to throw off the yoke, and to ſet up for independence. The Caliphs, who derived their authority from a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, more fitted for making conqueſts than for preſerving them, were obliged to connive at acts of rebellion which they could not prevent; and Barbary was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, of which

* This league was concluded December, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five, but not extended or ſigned in form till September in the following year. The Princes who acceded it were John Elector of Saxony, Erneſt Duke of Brunſwic, Philip Landgrave of Heſſe, Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, Barnim and Philip Dukes of Pomerania, John George, and Joachim Princes of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert Counts of Mansfield, William Count of Naſſau. The cities, Straſburg, Nuremberg, Conſtance, Ulm, Magdeburg, Bremen, Reutlingen, Hailbron, Memmengen, Lindaw, Campen, Iſna, Bibrac, Windſheim, Augſburg, Franckfort, Eſling, Brunſwick, Goſlar, Hanover, Gottingen, Eimbeck, Hamburg, Minden.

Book V. Morocco, Algiers and Tunis were the moſt conſiderable. The inhabitants of theſe kingdoms were a mixed race,
1535. Arabs, Negroes from the ſouthern provinces, and Moors, either natives of Africa, or who had been expelled out of Spain; all zealous profeſſors of the Mahometan religion, and inflamed againſt Chriſtianity with a bigotted hatred proportional to their ignorance and barbarous manners.

Riſe of the piratical ſtates. AMONG theſe people, no leſs daring, inconſtant and treacherous, than the ancient inhabitants of the ſame country deſcribed by the Roman hiſtorians, frequent ſeditions broke out, and many changes in government took place. Theſe, as they affected only the internal ſtate of a country ſo barbarous are but little known, and deſerve to be ſo; But about the beginning of the ſixteenth century a ſudden revolution happened, which by rendering the ſtates of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, had made their hiſtory worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by perſons born in a rank of life which

and of the Barbaroſſas. entitled them to act no ſuch illuſtrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the ſons of a potter in the iſle of Leſbos, prompted by a reſtleſs and enterprizing ſpirit, forſook their father's trade, ran to ſea, and joined a crew of pirates. They ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour and activity, and becoming maſters of a ſmall brigantine, carried on their infamous trade with ſuch conduct and ſucceſs, that they aſſembled a fleet of twelve galleys, beſides many veſſels of ſmaller force. Of this fleet, Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbaroſſa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin ſecond in command, but with almoſt equal authority. They called themſelves the friends of the ſea, and the enemies of all who ſail upon it; and their names ſoon became terrible from the Straits of the Dardanels to thoſe of Gibraltar. Together with their fame and power, their ambitious views opened and enlarged, and while acting as Corſairs, they adopted the ideas, and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the prizes which they took on the coaſts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and enriching the inhabitants by the ſale of their booty, and the thoughtleſs prodigality of their crews, were welcome gueſts in every place at which they touched. The convenient ſituation of theſe harbours lying ſo near the greateſt commercial ſtates at that time in Chriſtendom, made the brothers wiſh for an eſtabliſhment in that country. An opportunity of accompliſhing this quickly preſented itſelf, which they did not ſuffer to paſs unimproved

unimproved. Eutemi, King of Algiers, having attempted ſeveral times, without ſucceſs, to take a fort which the Spaniſh governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was ſo ill adviſed as to apply for aid to Barbaroſſa, whoſe valour the Africans conſidered as irreſiſtible. The active Corſair gladly accepted of the invitation, and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thouſand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the town; and obſerving that the Moors neither ſuſpected him of any bad intention, nor were capable with their light-armed troops of oppoſing his diſciplined veterans, he ſecretly murdered the Monarch whom he had come to aſſiſt, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of Algiers in his ſtead. The authority which he had thus boldly uſurped, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh by arts ſuited to the genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to thoſe who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no leſs unbounded towards all whom he had any reaſon to diſtruſt. Not ſatisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring King of Tremecen, and having vanquiſhed him in battle, added his dominions to thoſe of Algiers. At the ſame time, he continued to infeſt the coaſts of Spain and Italy with fleets which reſembled the armaments of a great Monarch, rather than the light ſquadrons of a Corſair. The devaſtations which theſe committed, obliged Charles about the beginning of his reign, to furniſh the Marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops ſufficient to attack him. That officer, aſſiſted by the dethroned King of Tremecen, executed the commiſſion with ſuch ſpirit, that Barbaroſſa's troops being beat in ſeveral encounters, he himſelf was ſhut up in Tremecen; after defending it to the laſt extremity, he was overtaken in attempting to make his eſcape, and ſlain while he fought with an obſtinate valour, worthy of his former fame and exploits.

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1516.

Horuc, the elder brother, becomes maſter of Algiers.

1518.

The Progreſs of Hayradin the ſecond brother.

His brother Hayradin, known likewiſe by the name of Barbaroſſa, aſſumed the ſceptre of Algiers with the ſame ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undiſturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conqueſts on the continent of Africa. But, perceiving that the Moors and Arabs

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Arabs ſubmitted to his government with the utmoſt impatience, and being afraid that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Chriſtians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkiſh ſoldiers ſufficient for his ſecurity againſt his domeſtic as well as his foreign enemies. At laſt the fame of his exploits daily increaſing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkiſh fleet, as the only perſon whoſe valour and ſkill in naval affairs entitled him to command againſt Andrew Doria, the greateſt ſea-officer of that age. Proud of this diſtinction, Barbaroſſa repaired to Conſtantinople, and with a wonderful verſatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldneſs of a Corſair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a ſcheme that he had formed of making himſelf maſter of Tunis, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom, at that time, on the coaſt of Africa; which being approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution.

Puts his dominions under the protection of the Sultan.

His ſcheme for conquering Tunis.

His hopes of ſucceſs in this undertaking were founded on the inteſtine diviſions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the laſt King of that country, having thirty-four ſons by different wives, named Muley-Haſcen, one of the youngeſt among them, his ſucceſſor. That weak Prince, who owed his preference not to his own merit, but to the aſcendant which his mother had acquired over an old doating monarch, firſt poiſoned his father in order to prevent him from altering his deſtination; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of ſucceſſion is not preciſely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraſchid, one of the eldeſt, was ſo fortunate as to eſcape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made ſeveral attempts, by the aſſiſtance of ſome of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged to him. But theſe proving unſucceſsful, and the Arabs, from their natural levity, being ready to deliver him up to his mercileſs brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbaroſſa; who, diſcerning at once all the advantages that might be gained by ſupporting his title, received him with every poſſible demonſtration of friendſhip and reſpect. Being ready at that time, to ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, he eaſily perſuaded Alraſchid, whoſe

whoſe eagerneſs to obtain a crown diſpoſed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither, promiſing him effectual aſſiſtance from Solyman, whom he repreſented to be the moſt generous, as well as moſt powerful Monarch in the world. But no ſooner were they arrived at Conſtantinople, than the falſe Corſair, regardleſs of all his promiſes to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkiſh empire, by making uſe of the name of this exiled Prince, and by means of the party ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved with too much facility, of this perfidious propoſal, extremely ſuitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great Prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were ſoon aſſembled; at the ſight of which the credulous Alraſchid flattered himſelf, that he would ſoon enter his capital in triumph. Book V. 1535.

Its ſucceſs.

But juſt as this unhappy Prince was going to embark, he was arreſted by order of the Sultan, ſhut up in the ſeraglio, and was never heard of more. Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty veſſels towards Africa. After ravaging the coaſts of Italy, and ſpreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to aſſert the right of Alraſchid, whom he pretended to have left ſick aboard the Admiral galley. The fort of Goletta which commands the bay, ſoon fell into his hands, partly by his own addreſs, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Haſcen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraſchid with ſuch zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly ſo precipitately, that he left all his treaſures behind him. The gates were immediately ſet open to Barbaroſſa, as the reſtorer of their lawful ſovereign. But when Alraſchid himſelf did not appear, and when inſtead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the Turkiſh ſoldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to ſuſpect the Corſair's treachery; and their ſuſpicions being ſoon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmoſt fury, and ſurrounded the citadel, into which Barbaroſſa had led his troops. But having foreſeen ſuch a revolution, he was not unprepared for it; he immediately turned againſt them the artillery on the ramparts, and by one briſk diſcharge of it, and of his ſmall arms, he diſperſed the numerous

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merous but undirected aſſailants, and forced them to acknowledge Solyman as their ſovereign, and to ſubmit to himſelf as his viceroy.

Barbaroſſa's formidable power.

His firſt care was to put the kingdom, of which he had thus got poſſeſſion, in a proper poſture of defence. He ſtrengthened the citadel which commands the town; and fortifying the Goletta in a regular manner, at vaſt expence, made it the principal ſtation for his fleet, and his great arſenal both for military and naval ſtores. Being now poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive territories, he carried on his depredations againſt the Chriſtian ſtates to a greater extent, and with more deſtructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers were brought to the Emperor by his ſubjects, both in Spain and Italy. All Chriſtendom ſeemed to expect from him, as its greateſt and moſt fortunate Prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious ſpecies of oppreſſion. At the ſame time Muley-Haſcen, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan Princes in Africa willing or able to aſſiſt him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only perſon who could aſſert his rights in oppoſition to ſuch a formidable uſurper. The Emperor, equally deſirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbaroſſa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate Prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age, to every expedition againſt the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war in the late campaign in Hungary, he was now become ſo fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occaſion in perſon. The united ſtrength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize in which the Emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemiſh fleet carried from the ports of the Low-Country a body of German infantry *; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſo many victories over the French; the Emperor himſelf embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spaniſh nobility, and was joined by a conſiderable ſquadron from Portugal, under the command of the Infant Don Lewis,

The exiled king of Tunis implores the Emperor's aſſiſtance. April 21, 1535.

His preparation for the expedition.

* Hardi Annales Brabant. i. 599.

the

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the Empreſs's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the beſt appointed at that time in Europe, and commanded by the moſt ſkilful officers: the Pope furniſhed all the aſſiſtance in his power towards ſuch a pious enterprize; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the Infidels, equipped a ſmall ſquadron, but formidable by the valour of the knights who ſerved on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed High Admiral of the fleet; the command in chief of the land forces was given to the marquis di Guaſto.

Lands in Africa.

On the ſixteenth of July, the fleet, conſiſting of near five hundred veſſels, having on board above thirty thouſand regular troops, ſet ſail from Cagliari, and after a proſperous navigation, landed within ſight of Tunis. Barbaroſſa having early intelligence of the Emperor's immenſe armament, and ſuſpecting its deſtination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conqueſt. He called in all his Corſairs from their different ſtations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be ſpared; he diſpatched meſſengers to all the African Princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by repreſenting Muley-Haſcen as an infamous apoſtate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vaſſal of a Chriſtian Prince, but to conſpire with him to extirpate the Mahomedan faith, he inflamed thoſe ignorant and bigotted chiefs to ſuch a degree, that they took arms as in a common cauſe. Twenty thouſand horſe together with a vaſt body of foot, ſoon aſſembled at Tunis; and Barbaroſſa, by a proper diſtribution of preſents among them from time to time, kept the ardour which had brought them together from ſubſiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppoſe, to think that theſe light troops could reſiſt the heavy armed cavalry and veteran infantry which compoſed the Imperial army, his chief confidence was in the ſtrength of the Goletta, and in his body of Turkiſh ſoldiers who were armed and diſciplined after the European faſhion. Six thouſand of theſe, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the braveſt and moſt experienced of all his corſairs, he threw into that fort, which the Emperor immediately inveſted. As Charles had the command of the ſea, his camp was ſo plentifully ſupplied not only with the neceſſaries, but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley-Haſcen, who had not been accuſtomed to ſee war

Lays ſiege to Goletta.

carried

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carried on with ſuch order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops, animated by his preſence, and conſidering it as meritorious to ſhed their blood in ſuch a pious cauſe, contended with each other for the poſts of honour and danger. Three ſeparate attacks were concerted, and the Germans, Spaniards and Italians having one of theſe committed to each of them, puſhed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inſpires. Sinan diſplayed reſolution and ſkill becoming the confidence which his maſter had put in him; the garriſon performed the hard ſervice on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies; though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incurſions; the breaches ſoon became ſo conſiderable towards the land, while the fleet battered the fortifications which it could approach, with no leſs fury and ſucceſs, that an aſſault being given on all ſides at once, the place was taken by ſtorm; Sinan, with the remains of his garriſon, retiring, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, over a ſhallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became maſter of Barbaroſſa's fleet, conſiſting of eighty-ſeven gallies and galliots, together with his arſenal, and three hundred cannon moſtly braſs, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the ſtrength of the fort, as well as of the greatneſs of the corſair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta through the breach, and turning to Muley-Haſcen who attended him, "Here," ſays he, "is a gate open to you, by which you ſhall return to "take poſſeſſion of your dominions."

Takes it by ſtorm. July 25.

BARBAROSSA, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, loſe courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thouſand men *, towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the iſſue of a battle. This reſolution he communicated to his principal officers, and repreſenting to them the fatal

* Epiſtres des Princes, par Ruſcelli, p. 119, &c.

conſequences

conſequences which might follow, if ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, whom he had ſhut up in the citadel ſhould attempt to mutiny during the abſence of the army, he propoſed as a neceſſary precaution for the publick ſecurity, to maſſacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured as they were, in their piratical depredations, to ſcenes of bloodſhed and cruelty, the barbarity of his propoſal concerning the ſlaves filled them with horror; and Barbaroſſa, rather from the dread of irritating them, than ſwayed by motives of humanity, conſented to ſpare the lives of the ſlaves.

Defeats Barbaroſſa's army.

By this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops ſuffered inconceivable hardſhips in their march over burning ſands, deſtitute of water, and expoſed to the intolerable heat of the ſun, they ſoon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vaſt ſuperiority in number, immediately ruſhed on to the attack with loud ſhouts, but their undiſciplined courage did not ſtand one moment the ſhock of regular battalions; and though Barbaroſſa, with admirable preſence of mind, and by expoſing his own perſon to the greateſt dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became ſo general, that he himſelf was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion; ſome of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others ready to ſet open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkiſh ſoldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in ſuch circumſtances might have afforded him ſome refuge, already in the poſſeſſion of the Chriſtian captives. Theſe unhappy men, rendered deſperate by their ſituation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbaroſſa dreaded. As ſoon as his army was at ſome diſtance from the town, they gained two of their keepers, by whoſe aſſiſtance, knocking off their fetters, and burſting open their priſons, they overpowered the Turkiſh garriſon, and turned the artillery of the fort againſt their former maſters. Barbaroſſa, diſappointed and enraged, exclaimed ſometimes againſt the falſe compaſſion of his officers, and ſometimes condemning his own imprudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

Tunis ſurrenders.

Meanwhile Charles, ſatisfied with the eaſy and almoſt bloodleſs victory which he had gained, and advancing

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cing ſlowly with the precaution neceſſary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at laſt, a meſſenger diſpatched by the ſlaves acquainted him with the ſucceſs of their noble effort for the recovery of their liberty; and at the ſame time deputies arrived from the town, in order to preſent him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper meaſures for this purpoſe, the ſoldiers fearing that they would be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke ſuddenly, and without orders, into the town, and began to kill and plunder without diſtinction. It was then too late to reſtrain their cruelty, their avarice or licentiouſneſs. All the outrages of which ſoldiers are capable in the fury of a ſtorm, all the exceſſes of which men can be guilty when their paſſions are heightened by the contempt and hatred which difference in manners and religion inſpire, were committed. Above thirty thouſand of the innocent inhabitants periſhed on that unhappy day, and ten thouſand were carried away as ſlaves. Muley-Haſcen took poſſeſſion of a throne ſurrounded with carnage, abhorred by his ſubjects on whom he had brought ſuch calamites, and pitied even by thoſe whoſe raſhneſs had been the occaſion of them. The Emperor lamented the fatal accident which had ſtained the luſtre of his victory; and amidſt ſuch a ſcene of horror there was but one ſpectacle that afforded him any ſatisfaction. Ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and bleſſed him as their deliverer.

Reſtores the exiled King to his throne

At the ſame time that Charles accompliſhed his promiſe to the Mooriſh King of re-eſtabliſhing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was neceſſary for bridling the power of the African corſairs, for the ſecurity of his own ſubjects, and for the intereſt of the Spaniſh crown: In order to gain theſe ends, he concluded a treaty with Muley-Haſcen on the following conditions; that he ſhould hold the kingdom of Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do homage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that all the Chriſtian ſlaves now within his dominions, of whatever nation, ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſom; that no ſubject of the Emperor's ſhould for the future be detained in ſervitude; that no Turkiſh corſair ſhould be admitted into the ports of his dominions;

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ons; that free trade, together with the publick exercise of the Christian religion should be allowed to all the Emperor's subjects; that the Emperor should not only retain the Goletta, but all the other sea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified, should be put into his hands; that Muley-Hascen should pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of the Spanish garrison in the Goleta; that he should enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies, and should present to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage, six Moorish horses, and as many hawks *. Having thus settled the affairs of Africa; chastised the insolence of the corsairs; secured a safe retreat for the ships of his subjects and a proper station for his own fleets, on that coast from which he was most infested by piratical depredations; Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempestuous weather, and sickness among his troops, not permitting him to pursue Barbarossa †. August 17.

The glory which the Emperor acquired.

By this expedition, the merit of which seems to have been estimated in that age, rather by the apparent generosity of the undertaking, the magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and the success which crowned it, than by the importance of the consequences that attended it, the Emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thousand slaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms, or by his treaty with Muley-Hascen ‡, each of whom he clothed and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, spread all over Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration. In comparison with him the other Monarchs of Europe made an inconsiderable figure; he, as the chief Prince in Christendom, appeared to be concerned for the honour of the Christian name, for the publick security and welfare, while they were attentive only to their private and particular interests.

* Du Mont Corps Diplomat. ii. 128. Summonte Hist. di Napoli, iv. 89.

† Joh. Etropii Diarium Expedition. Tunetanæ ap. Scard. v. ii. p 320. &c. Jovii Histor. lib. xxxiv. 153, &c. Sandov. ii. 154, &c. Vertot. Hist. de Cheval. de Malthe, Epistres des Princes, par Ruscelli, traduites par Belleforest, p. 119, 120, &c.

‡ Summonte Hist. de Nap. vol. iv. p. 103.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VI.

Book VI.

1535. The causes of a new war between the Emperor and Francis.

UNFORTUNATELY for the reputation of Francis I. among his cotemporaries, his conduct, at this juncture, appeared a perfect contraſt to that of his rival, as he laid hold on the opportunity afforded him, by the Emperor's having turned his whole force againſt the common enemy, to revive his pretenſions in Italy, and to plunge Europe into a new war. The treaty of Cambray as has been obſerved, did not remove the cauſes of enmity between the two contending Princes; it covered up, but did not extinguiſh the flames of diſcord. Francis, in particular, who waited with impatience for a proper occaſion of recovering the reputation as well as territories which he had loſt, continued to carry on his negotiations in different courts againſt the Emperor, taking the utmoſt pains to heighten the jealouſy which many Princes entertained of his power or deſigns, and to inſpire the reſt with the ſame ſuſpicion and fear: Among others, he applied to Francis Sforza, who, though indebted

debted to Charles for the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Milan, had received it on ſuch hard conditions, as rendered him not only a vaſſal of the Empire, but a tributary dependant upon the Emperor. The honour of having married the Emperor's niece, did not reconcile him to this ignominious ſtate of ſubjection, which became ſo intolerable even to Sforza, a weak and poor ſpirited Prince, that he liſtened with eagerneſs to the firſt propoſals Francis made of reſcuing him from the yoke. Theſe propoſals were conveyed to him by Maraviglia, or Merveille, as he is called by the French hiſtorians, a Milaneſe gentleman reſiding at Paris; and ſoon after, in order to carry on the negotiation with greater advantage, Merveille was ſent to Milan, on pretence of viſiting his relations, but with ſecret credentials from Francis as his envoy. In this character he was received by Sforza. But notwithſtanding his care to keep that circumſtance concealed, Charles ſuſpecting, or having received information of it, remonſtrated and threatened in ſuch a high tone that the Duke and his miniſters, equally intimidated, gave the world immediately a moſt infamous proof of their ſervile fear of offending the Emperor. Having decoyed Merveille, who had neither the prudence nor temper which the ſtation wherein he was placed required, into a quarrel, in which he happened to kill his antagoniſt, one of the Duke's domeſtics, they inſtantly commanded him to be ſeized, to be tried for that crime, and to be beheaded. Dec. 1533. Francis, aſtoniſhed at this violation of a character held ſacred among the moſt uncivilized nations, and enraged at the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, threatened Sforza with the effects of his indignation, and complained to the Emperor, whom he conſidered as the real author of that unexampled outrage. But meeting with no ſatisfaction from either, he appealed to all the Princes of Europe, and thought himſelf now entitled to take vengeance for an injury, which it would have been indecent and puſillanimous to let paſs with impunity.

Francis deſtitute of allies.

BEING thus furniſhed with a pretext for beginning a war, on which he had already reſolved, he multiplied his efforts in order to draw in other Princes to take part in the quarrel. But all his meaſures for this purpoſe were diſconcerted by unforeſeen events. After having ſacrificed the honour of his houſe by the marriage of his ſon with Catharine of Medici, in order to gain Clement, the

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death of that Pontiff had deprived him of all the advantages which he expected to derive from his friendſhip. Paul, his ſucceſſor, though attached by inclination to the Imperial intereſt, ſeemed determined to maintain the neutrality ſuitable to his character as the common father of the contending Princes. The King of England, occupied with domeſtic cares and projects, declined for once engaging in the affairs of the continent, and refuſed to aſſiſt Francis, unleſs he would imitate his example, in throwing off the Papal ſupremacy. Theſe diſappointments led him to ſolicit, with greater earneſtneſs, the aid of the Proteſtant Princes aſſociated by the league of Smalkalde. That he might the more eaſily acquire their confidence, he endeavoured to accommodate himſelf to their predominant paſſion, zeal for their religious tenets. He affected a wonderful moderation with regard to the points in diſpute; he permitted Bellay, his envoy in Germany, to explain his ſentiments concerning ſome of the moſt important articles, in terms not far different from thoſe uſed by the Proteſtants *; he even condeſcended to invite Melancthon, whoſe gentle manners and pacific ſpirit diſtinguiſhed him among the Reformers, to viſit Paris, that by his aſſiſtance he might concert the moſt proper meaſures for reconciling the contending ſects, which ſo unhappily divided the church †. Theſe conceſſions muſt be conſidered rather as arts of policy, than the reſult of conviction; for whatever impreſſion the new opinions in religion made on his ſiſters, the Queen of Navarre and Dutcheſs of Ferrara, the gaiety of Francis's own temper, and his love of pleaſure, allowed him little leiſure to examine theological controverſies.

His negotiations with the German Proteſtants.

Irritates them.

But ſoon after he loſt all the fruits of this diſingenuous artifice, by a ſtep very inconſiſtent with his declarations to the German Princes. This ſtep, however the prejudices of the age, and the religious ſentiments of his own ſubjects, rendered it neceſſary for him to take. His cloſe union with the King of England, an excommunicated heretick; his frequent negotiations with the German Proteſtants; but above all, his giving publick audience to an envoy from Sultan Solyman, had excited violent ſuſpicions concerning the ſincerity of his attachment to religion. To have attacked the Emperor, who, on all

* Freheri Script. Rer. German. iii. 354, &c. Sleid. Hiſt. 178, 183. Seckend. lib. iii. 103. † Camerarii Vita Ph. Melancthonis, 12mo. Hag. 1655. p. 12.

occaſions,

occaſions, made high pretenſions to zeal in defence of the Catholick faith, and at the very juncture, when he was preparing for his expedition againſt Barbaroſſa, which was then conſidered as a pious enterprize, could not have failed to confirm ſuch unfavourable ſentiments with regard to Francis, and called on him to vindicate himſelf by ſome extraordinary demonſtration of his reverence for the eſtabliſhed doctrines of the church. The indiſcreet zeal of ſome of his ſubjects, who had imbibed the Proteſtant opinions, furniſhed him with ſuch an occaſion as he deſired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the Popiſh church. Six of the perſons concerned in this raſh action were diſcovered and ſeized. The King, in order to avert the judgments which it was ſuppoſed their blaſphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a ſolemn proceſſion. The holy ſacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood ſupported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the preſence of this numerous aſſembly, the King accuſtomed to expreſs himſelf on every ſubject in ſtrong and animated language, declared that if one of his hands were infected with hereſy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not ſpare even his own children, if found guilty of that crime. As a dreadful proof of his being in earneſt, the ſix unhappy perſons were publickly burnt before the proceſſion was finiſhed, with circumſtances of the moſt ſhocking barbarity attending their execution *.

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THE Princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with reſentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be ſincere, when he offered to protect in Germany thoſe very tenets, which he perſecuted with ſuch rigour in his own dominions; ſo that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his maſter, and apoligizing for his conduct, made but little impreſſion upon them. Beſides the Emperor, who hitherto had never employed violence againſt the doctrines of the Reformers, nor even given them much moleſtation in their progreſs, was now bound by the agreement at Ratiſbon, not to diſturb thoſe who

They refuſe to join him.

* Belcarii Comment. Rer. Gallic. 646. Sleid. Hiſt. 175, &c.

Book VI. 1536. had embraced the new opinions; and the Proteſtants wiſely conſidered this as a more certain and immediate ſecurity, than the precarious and diſtant hopes with which Francis endeavoured to allure them. The manner too in which he had behaved to his allies at the peace of Cambray, was too recent to be forgotten, and did not encourage others to rely much on his friendſhip or generoſity. Upon all theſe accounts, the Proteſtant Princes refuſed to aſſiſt the French King in any hoſtile attempt againſt the Emperor. The Elector of Saxony, the moſt zealous among them, in order to avoid giving any umbrage to Charles, would not permit Melancthon to viſit the court of France, although that Reformer, flattered perhaps by the invitation of ſo great a Monarch, or hoping that his preſence there might be of ſignal advantage to the Proteſtant cauſe, diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to undertake the journey *.

The French army advances towards Italy.

But though none of the many Princes who envied or dreaded the power of Charles would ſecond Francis's efforts in order to reduce and circumſcribe it, he, nevertheleſs, commanded his army to advance towards the frontiers of Italy. As his ſole pretext for taking arms was, that he might chaſtiſe the Duke of Milan for his inſolent and cruel breach of the law of nations, it might have been expected that the whole weight of his vengeance was to have fallen on his territories. But on a ſudden, and at their very commencement, the operations of war took another direction. Charles Duke of Savoy, one of the leaſt active and able Princes of the line from which he deſcended, had married Beatrix of Portugal, the Empreſs's ſiſter. By her great talents, ſhe ſoon acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her huſband; and proud of her affinity to the Emperor, or allured by the magnificent promiſes with which he flattered her ambition, ſhe formed an union between the Duke and the Imperial court, extremely inconſiſtent with that neutrality, which wiſe policy, as well as the ſituation of his dominions, had hitherto induced him to obſerve in all the quarrels between the contending Monarchs. Francis was abundantly ſenſible of the diſtreſs to which he might be expoſed, if when he entered Italy, he ſhould leave behind him the territories of a Prince, devoted ſo obſequiouſly to the Emperor, that he had ſent his eldeſt ſon to be educated in the court

* Camerarii Vita Melan. 142, &c. 415. Seckend. lib. iii. 107.

of

of Spain, as a kind of hoſtage for his fidelity. Clement the Seventh, who had repreſented this danger in a ſtrong light during his interview with Francis at Marſeilles, ſuggeſted to him, at the ſame time, the proper method of guarding againſt it, having adviſed him to begin his operations againſt the Milaneſe, by taking poſſeſſion of Savoy and Piedmont, as the only certain way of ſecuring a communication with his own dominions. Francis, highly irritated at the Duke on many accounts, particularly for having ſupplied the Conſtable Bourbon with the money, which enabled him to levy that body of troops which ruined the French army in the fatal battle of Pavia, was not unwilling to let him now feel both how deeply he reſented, and how ſeverely he could puniſh theſe injuries. Nor did he want ſeveral pretexts that would give ſome colour of equity to the violence which he intended. The territories of France and Savoy lying contiguous to each other, and intermingled in many places, various diſputes, unavoidable in ſuch a ſituation, ſubſiſted concerning the limits of their reſpective property; and beſides, Francis had, in right of his mother Louiſe of Savoy, large claims upon the Duke her brother, for her ſhare in their father's ſucceſſion. Being unwilling, however, to begin hoſtilities without ſome cauſe of quarrel more ſpecious than theſe pretenſions, many of which were obſolete, and others dubious, he demanded permiſſion to march through Piedmont in his way to the Milaneſe, hoping that the Duke, from an exceſs of attachment to the Imperial intereſt, might refuſe this requeſt, and thus give a greater appearance of juſtice to all his operations againſt him. But, if we may believe the hiſtorians of Savoy, better informed with regard to this particular than thoſe of France, the Duke readily, and with a good grace, granted what it was not in his power to deny, promiſing free paſſage to the French troops as was deſired; ſo that Francis, as the only method now left of juſtifying the meaſures which he determined to take, was obliged to inſiſt for full ſatisfaction with regard to every thing that either the crown of France or his mother Louiſe could demand of the houſe of Savoy *. Such an evaſive anſwer, as might have been expected, being made to this requiſition the French army under the admiral Brion poured at once

Takes poſſeſſion of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

* Hiſtoire Genealogique de Savoye, par Guichenon. 2. tom. fol. Lyon. 1660. i. 639, &c.

Book VI. into the Duke's territories at different places. The countries of Breſſe and Bugey, united at that time to Savoy, were over-run in a moment. Moſt of the towns in the dutchy of Savoy opened their gates at the approach of the enemy; a few which attempted to make reſiſtance were eaſily forced; and before the end of the campaign, the Duke ſaw himſelf ſtripped of all his dominions, but the province of Piedmont, in which there were not many places in a condition to be defended.

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The city of Geneva recovers its liberty.

To compleat the Duke's misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the ſovereignty of which he claimed, and in ſome degree poſſeſſed, threw off his yoke, and its revolt drew along with it the loſs of the adjacent territories. Geneva was, at that time, an Imperial city; and though under the direct dominion of its own biſhops, and the remote ſovereignty of the Dukes of Savoy, the form of its internal conſtitution was purely republican, being governed by ſyndics and a council choſen by the citizens. From theſe diſtinct and often claſhing juriſdictions, two oppoſite parties took their riſe, and had long ſubſiſted in the ſtate; the one compoſed of the advocates for the privileges of the community, aſſumed the name of *Eignotz*, or confederates in defence of liberty; and branded the other, which ſupported the epiſcopal or ducal prerogatives, with the name of *Mammelukes* or ſlaves. At length, the Proteſtant opinions beginning to ſpread among the citizens, inſpired ſuch as embraced them with that bold enterprizing ſpirit which always accompanied or was naturally produced by them in their firſt operations. As both the Duke and Biſhop were from intereſt, from prejudice, and from political conſiderations, violent enemies of the Reformation, all the new converts joined with warmth the party of the Eignotz; and zeal for religion, mingling with the love of liberty, added ſtrength to that generous paſſion. The rage and animoſity of two factions, ſhut up within the ſame walls, occaſioned frequent inſurrections, which terminating moſtly to the advantage of the friends of liberty, they daily gained ground.

1532.

The Duke and Biſhop, forgetting their ancient conteſt about juriſdiction, had united againſt their common enemies, and each attacked them with his proper weapons. The Biſhop excommunicated the people of Geneva as guilty of a double crime; of impiety, in apoſtatiſing from the eſtabliſhed religion; and of ſacrilege, in invading the rights of his ſee. The Duke attacked them as rebels againſt

againſt their lawful Prince, and attempted to render himſelf maſter of the city, firſt by ſurprize, and then by open force. The citizens, deſpiſing the thunder of the Biſhop's cenſures, boldly aſſerted their independence againſt the Duke; and partly by their own valour, partly by the powerful aſſiſtance which they received from their allies, the canton of Berne, together with ſome ſmall ſupplies both of men and money, ſecretly furniſhed by the King of France, they defeated all his attempts. Not ſatisfied with having repulſed him, or with remaining always upon the defenſive themſelves, they now took advantage of the Duke's inability to reſiſt them, while overwhelmed by the armies of France, and ſeized ſeveral caſtles and places of ſtrength which he poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of Geneva; thus delivering the city from theſe odious monuments of its former ſubjection, and rendering the public liberty more ſecure for the future. At the ſame time the canton of Berne invaded and conquered the Pais de Vaud, to which it had ſome pretenſions. The canton of Friburgh, though zealouſly attached to the Catholic religion, and having no ſubject of conteſt with the Duke, laid hold on part of the ſpoils of that unfortunate Prince. A great portion of theſe conqueſts or uſurpations being ſtill retained by the two cantons, add conſiderably to their power, and have become the moſt valuable part of their territories. Geneva, notwithſtanding many ſchemes and enterprizes of the Dukes of Savoy to re-eſtabliſh their dominion there, ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of its independence; and in conſequence of that bleſſing, has attained a degree of conſideration, wealth and elegance, which it could not otherwiſe have reached *.

The Emperor unable to aſſiſt the Duke of Savoy.

AMIDST ſuch a ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous events, the Duke of Savoy had no other reſource but the Emperor's protection, which, upon his return from Tunis, he demanded with the moſt earneſt importunity; and as his misfortunes were occaſioned chiefly by his attachment to the imperial intereſt, he had a juſt title to immediate aſſiſtance. Charles, however, was not in a condition to ſupport him with that vigour and diſpatch which the exigency of his affairs called for. Moſt of the troops em-

* Hiſt. de la Ville de Geneve, par Spon. 12o. Utr. 1685. p. 99. Hiſt. de la Reformation de Suiſſe, par Rouchat, Gen. 1728. tom. iv. p. 294, &c. tom. v. p. 216, &c. Mem de Bellay, 181.

ployed

Book VI. ployed in the African expedition, having been raiſed for that ſervice alone, were diſbanded as ſoon as it was finiſhed; the veteran forces under Antonio de Leyva were ſcarce ſufficient for the defence of the Milaneſe; and the Emperor's treaſury was entirely drained by his vaſt efforts againſt the infidels.

1535.

Oct. 24. Death of Sforza. Duke of Milan.

But the death of Francis Sforza, occaſioned, according to ſome hiſtorians, by the terror of a French invaſion, which had twice been fatal to his family, afforded the Emperor full leiſure to prepare for action. By this unexpected event, the nature of the war, and the cauſes of diſcord, were totally changed. Francis's firſt pretext for taking arms, in order to chaſtiſe Sforza for the inſult offered to the dignity of his crown, was at once cut off; but as that Prince died without iſſue, all Francis's right to the dutchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his poſterity, returned back to him in full force. As the recovery of the Milaneſe was the favourite object of that Monarch, he inſtantly renewed his claim to it; and if he had ſupported his pretenſions by ordering the powerful army quartered in Savoy to advance, without loſing a moment, towards Milan, he could ſcarce have failed to ſecure the important point of poſſeſſion. But Francis, who became daily leſs enterprizing as he advanced in years, and who was overawed at ſome times into an exceſs of caution by the remembrance of his paſt misfortunes, endeavoured to eſtabliſh his rights by negotiation, not by arms; and from a timid moderation, fatal in all great affairs, neglected to improve the favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf. Charles, meanwhile, in quality of ſovereign, took poſſeſſion of the dutchy, as a vacant fief of the Empire; and while Francis endeavoured to explain and aſſert his title to it, by arguments and memorials, uſing every art in order to reconcile the Italian powers to the thoughts of his regaining footing in Italy, his rival was ſilently taking effectual ſteps to prevent it. The Emperor, however, was very careful not to diſcover too early any intention of this kind; but ſeeming to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he appeared ſolicitous only about giving him poſſeſſion in ſuch a manner as might not diſturb the peace of Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy, which the politicians of that country were ſo fond of preſerving. By this artifice he deceived Francis, and gained ſo much confidence with the reſt of Europe, that almoſt without incurring any ſuſpicion, he involved the affair in new difficulties,

Francis's pretenſions to that dutchy.

culties, and protracted the negotiations at pleasure. Sometimes he proposed to grant the investiture of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's second son, sometimes to the Duke of Angouleme, his third son; as the views and inclinations of the French court varied, he transferred his choice alternately from the one to the other, with such profound and well conducted dissimulation, that neither Francis nor his ministers seem to have penetrated his real intention; and all military operations were entirely suspended, as if nothing had remained but to enter quietly into possession of what they demanded.

1536. Charles's preparations for war.

During the interval gained in this manner, Charles prevailed on the states both of Sicily and Naples, who thought themselves greatly honoured by the presence of their sovereign on his return from Tunis, and who were no less pleased with the apparent disinterestedness of his expedition into Africa, than dazzled by the success which had attended his arms, to vote him such liberal subsidies as were seldom granted in that age. This enabled him to recruit his veteran troops, to levy a body of Germans, and to take every other proper precaution for executing or supporting the measures on which he had determined. Bellay, the French envoy in Germany, having discovered the intention of raising troops in that country, notwithstanding all the pretexts employed in order to conceal it, first alarmed his master with this evident proof of the Emperor's insincerity *. But Francis was so possessed at that time with the rage of negotiation, in all the artifices and refinements of which his rival far surpassed him, that instead of beginning his military operations, and pushing them with vigour, or seizing the Milanese before the imperial army was assembled, he satisfied himself with making new offers to the Emperor, in order to procure the investiture by his voluntary deed. His offers were, indeed, so liberal and advantageous, that if ever Charles had intended to grant his demand, he could not have rejected them with decency. He dextrously eluded them by declaring that, until he consulted the Pope in person, he could not take his final resolution with regard to a point which so nearly concerned the peace of Italy. By this evasion he gained some farther time for ripening the schemes he had in view.

* M. de Bellay, 192.

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THE Emperor at last advanced towards Rome, and made his public entry into that city with extraordinary pomp; but it being found necessary to remove the ruins of an ancient temple of peace, in order to widen one of the streets, through which the cavalcade had to pass, all the historians take notice of this trivial circumstance, which they are fond to interpret as an omen of the bloody war that followed. Charles, it is certain, had by this time banished all thoughts of peace; and at last threw off the mask, with which he had so long covered his designs from the court of France, by a declaration of his sentiments no less singular than explicit. The French ambassadors having in their master's name demanded a definitive reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan, Charles promised to give it next day in presence of the Pope and Cardinals assembled in full consistory. These being accordingly met, and all the foreign ambassadors invited to attend, the emperor stood up, and addressing himself to the Pope, expatiated for some time on the sincerity of his own wishes for the peace of Christendom, and his abhorrence of war, the miseries of which he enumerated at great length, with studied and elaborate oratory; he complained that all his endeavours to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had hitherto been defeated by the restless and unjust ambition of the French King; that even during his minority he had proofs of the unfriendly and hostile intentions of that Monarch; that, afterwards, he had openly attempted to wrest from him the Imperial crown which belonged to him by a title no less just than natural; that he had next invaded his kingdom of Navarre; that not satisfied with this, he had attacked his territories as well as those of his allies both in Italy and the Low-Countries; that when the valour of the Imperial troops, rendered irresistible by the protection of the Almighty, had checked his progress, ruined his armies, and seized his person, he continued to pursue by deceit, what he had undertaken with injustice; that he had violated every article in the treaty of Madrid to which he owed his liberty, and as soon as he returned to his dominions, took measures for rekindling the war which that pacification had happily extinguished; that when new misfortunes compelled him to sue again for peace at Cambray, he concluded and observed it with great insincerity; that soon thereafter he had formed dangerous connections with the heretical Princes in Germany, and incited them to disturb the tranquillity

1535. The Emperor enters Rome. April 6.

His public invective against Francis.

quillity of the Empire; that now he had driven the Duke of Savoy, his brother-in-law and ally, out of the greater part of his territories; that after injuries so often repeated, and amidst so many sources of discord, all hope of amity or concord became desperate; and though he was still willing to grant the investiture of Milan to one of the Princes of France, there was little probability of that event's taking place, as Francis, on the one hand, would not consent to what he judged necessary for securing the tranquillity of Europe, nor, on the other, could he think it reasonable or safe to give him the unconditional possession of all that he demanded. Let us not, however, added he, continue wantonly to shed the blood of our innocent subjects; let us decide the quarrel man to man, with what arms he pleases to choose, in our shirts, on an island, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river; let the dutchy of Burgundy be put in deposit on his part, and that of Milan on mine; these shall be the prize of the conqueror; and after that, let the united forces of Germany, Spain and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, and to extirpate heresy out of Christendom. But if he, by declining this method of terminating our differences, renders war inevitable, nothing shall divert me from prosecuting it to such extremity, as shall reduce one of us to be the poorest gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear that it will be on me this misfortune shall fall; I enter upon action with the fairest prospect of success; the justice of my cause, the union of my subjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to ensure it. Of all these advantages, the King of France is destitute; and were my resources no more certain, and my hopes of victory no better founded than his, I would instantly throw myself at his feet, and with folded hands and a rope about my neck, implore his mercy *.

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Challenges him to single combat.

This long harangue the emperor delivered with an elevated voice, a haughty tone, and the greatest vehemence of expression and gesture. The French ambassadors, who did not fully comprehend his meaning, as he spoke in the Spanish tongue, were totally disconcerted, and at a loss how they should answer such an unexpected invective; when one of them began to vindicate his master's conduct, Charles interposed abruptly, and would not

* Bellay, 199. Sandov. Histor. del Emper. ii. 226.

permit

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permit him to proceed. The Pope, without entering into any particular detail, ſatisfied himſelf with a ſhort but pathetic recommendation of peace, together with an offer of employing his ſincere endeavours, in order to procure that bleſſing to Chriſtendom; and the aſſembly broke up in the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the extraordinary ſcene which had been exhibited. In no part of his conduct, indeed, did Charles ever deviate ſo widely from his general character. Inſtead of that prudent recollection, that compoſed and regular deportment ſo ſtrictly attentive to decorum, and ſo admirably adapted to conceal his own paſſions, for which he was at all other times conſpicuous, he appears on this occaſion before the moſt auguſt aſſembly in Europe, boaſting of his own power and exploits with inſolence; inveighing againſt his enemy with indecency; and challenging him to combat with an oſtentatious valour, more becoming a champion in romance, than the firſt Monarch in Chriſtendom. But the well known and powerful operation of continued proſperity, and of exaggerated praiſe, even upon the firmeſt minds, ſufficiently account for this ſeeming inconſiſtency. After having compelled Solyman to retreat, and having ſtripped Barbaroſſa of a kingdom, Charles began to conſider his arms as invincible. He had been entertained, ever ſince his return from Africa, with repeated ſcenes of triumphs and public rejoicings; the orators and poets of Italy, the moſt elegant at that time in Europe, had exhauſted their genius in panegyric, to which the aſtrologers added magnificent promiſes of a more ſplendid fortune ſtill in ſtore. Intoxicated with all theſe, he forgot his uſual reſerve and moderation, and was unable to reſtrain this extravagant ſally of vanity, which became the more remarkable, by being both ſo uncommon and ſo public.

The motives of this raſh meaſure.

He himſelf ſeems to have been immediately ſenſible of the impropriety of his behaviour, and when the French ambaſſadors demanded next day a more clear explanation of what he had ſaid concerning the combat, he told them, that they were not to conſider his propoſal as a formal challenge to their maſter, but as an expedient for preventing bloodſhed; he endeavoured to ſoften other expreſſions in his diſcourſe; and ſpoke in terms full of reſpect towards Francis. But though this ſlight apology was far from being ſufficient to remove the offence which had been given, Francis, by an unaccountable infatuation, continued to negotiate,

negotiate, as if it had ſtill been poſſible to bring their differences to a period by an amicable compoſition. Charles, finding him ſo eager to run into the ſnare, favoured the deception, and by ſeeming to liſten to his propoſals gained time to prepare for the execution of his own deſigns *.

Charles invades France.

At laſt, the Imperial army aſſembled on the frontiers of the Milaneſe, to the amount of forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, while that of France encamped near Vercelli in Piedmont, being greatly inferior in number, and weakened by the departure of a body of Swiſs, whom Charles artfully perſuaded the Popiſh cantons to recall, that they might not ſerve againſt the Duke of Savoy, their ancient ally. The French general, not daring to riſque a battle, retired as ſoon as the Imperialiſts advanced. The Emperor put himſelf at the head of his forces, which the Marquis del Guaſto, the Duke of Alva, and Ferdinand de Gonzaga commanded under him, though the ſupreme direction of the whole was committed to Antonio de Leyva, whoſe abilities and experience juſtly entitled him to that diſtinction. Charles ſoon diſcovered his intention not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy, but to puſh forward and invade the ſouthern provinces of France. This ſcheme he had long meditated, and had long been taking meaſures for executing it with ſuch vigour as might enſure ſucceſs. He had remitted large ſums to his ſiſter, the governeſs of the Low-Countries, and to his brother, the King of the Romans, inſtructing them to levy all the forces in their power, in order to form two ſeparate bodies, the one to enter France on the ſide of Picardy, the other on the ſide of Champagne; while he, with the main army, fell upon the oppoſite frontier of the kingdom. Truſting to theſe vaſt preparations, he thought it impoſſible that Francis could reſiſt ſo many unexpected attacks, on ſuch different quarters; and begun his enterprize with ſuch confidence of its happy iſſue, that he deſired Paul Jovius the hiſtorian, to make a large proviſion of paper ſufficient to record the victories which he was going to acquire. May 6.

His miniſters and generals, inſtead of entertaining the ſame ſanguine hopes, repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt terms the danger of leading his troops ſo far from his own territories, to ſuch a diſtance from his magazines, and

* Mem. de Bellay, 205, &c.

into

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into provinces which did not yield ſufficient ſubſiſtence for their own inhabitants. They entreated him to conſider the inexhauſtible reſources of France in maintaining a defenſive war, and the active zeal with which a gallant nobility would ſerve a Prince whom they loved, in repelling the enemies of their country; they recalled to his remembrance the fatal miſcarriage of Bourbon and Peſcara, when they ventured upon the ſame enterprize under circumſtances which ſeemed as certainly to promiſe ſucceſs; the marquis del Guaſto, in particular, fell on his knees, and conjured him to abandon the undertaking as deſperate. But many circumſtances combined in leading Charles to diſregard all their remonſtrances. He could ſeldom be brought, on any occaſion, to depart from a reſolution which he had once taken; he was too apt to under-rate and deſpiſe the talents of his rival the King of France, which differed ſo widely from his own; he was blinded by the preſumption which accompanies proſperity; and relied, perhaps, in ſome degree, on the prophecies which predicted the increaſe of his own grandeur. He not only adhered obſtinately to his own plan, but determined to advance towards France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, except ſuch towns as were abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving his communication with the Milaneſe.

Recovers part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

THE marquis de Saluces, to whom Francis had entruſted the command of a ſmall body of troops left for the defence of Piedmont, rendered this more eaſy than he had any reaſon to expect. That nobleman, educated in the court of France, diſtinguiſhed by continual marks of the king's favour, and honoured ſo lately with a charge of ſuch importance, ſuddenly, and without any provocation or pretext of diſguſt, revolted from his benefactor. His motives to this treacherous action, were as childiſh as the deed itſelf was baſe. Being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a ſuperſtitious faith in divination and aſtrology, he believed with full aſſurance, that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand; that on its ruins the Emperor would eſtabliſh an univerſal monarchy; that therefore he ought to follow the dictates of prudence, in attaching himſelf to his riſing fortune, and would incur no blame for deſerting a Prince whom heaven had devoted to deſtruction *. His treaſon became ſtill more odious,

* Bellay, 221. a. 246. b.

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by his employing that very authority with which Francis had inveſted him, in order to open the kingdom to his enemies. Whatever was propoſed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conqueſts, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himſelf as commander in chief, to provide or perform for that purpoſe, he totally neglected. In this manner, he rendered towns even of the greateſt conſequence untenable, by leaving them deſtitute either of proviſions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a ſufficient garriſon; and the Imperialiſts muſt have reduced Piedmont in as ſhort a time as was neceſſary to march through it, if Montpezat, the governor of Foſſano, had not, by an extraordinary effort of courage and military conduct, detained them, almoſt a month, before that inconſiderable place.

Francis's plan for the defence of his kingdom.

By this meritorious and ſeaſonable ſervice, he gained his maſter ſufficient time for aſſembling his forces, and for concerting a ſyſtem of defence againſt a danger which he now ſaw to be inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy; and his prudence in chooſing this plan, as well as his perſeverance in executing it, deſerve the greater praiſe, as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of the French nation. He determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive; never to hazard a battle, or even a great ſkirmiſh, without certainty of ſucceſs; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garriſons only into towns of great ſtrength; to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence, by laying waſte the country before them; and to ſave the whole kingdom, by ſacrificing one of its provinces. The execution of this plan he committed entirely to the marechal Montmorency, who was the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for ſuch a truſt. Haughty, ſevere, confident in his own abilities, and deſpiſing thoſe of other men; incapable of being diverted from any reſolution by remonſtrances or intreaties; and in proſecuting any ſcheme, regardleſs alike of love and of pity.

Entruſts Montmorency with the execution of it.

He encamps at Avignon.

Montmorency, made choice of a ſtrong camp, under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhoſne and Durance, one of which plentifully ſupplied his troops with all neceſſaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that ſide, where it was

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moſt probable the enemy would approach. He laboured with unwearied induſtry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and aſſembled there a conſiderable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the king with another body of troops encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhoſne. Marſeilles and Arles were the only towns he though it neceſſary to defend; the former, in order to retain the command of the ſea; the latter, as the barrier of the province of Languedoc; and each of theſe he furniſhed with numerous gariſons of his beſt troops, commanded by officers, on whoſe fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns as well as of the open country, were compelled to abandon their houſes, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland provinces. The fortifications of ſuch places as might have afforded ſhelter or defence to the enemy, were thrown down. Corn, forage and proviſions of every kind, were carried away or deſtroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered uſeleſs. The devaſtation extended from the Alps to Marſeilles, and from the ſea to the confines of Dauphine; nor does hiſtory afford any inſtance among civilized nations, in which this cruel expedient for the public ſafety was employed with the ſame rigour.

Charles enters Provence.

MEANWHILE, the Emperor arrived with the van of his army on the frontiers of Provence, and was ſtill ſo poſſeſſed with confidence of ſucceſs, that during a few days, when he was obliged to halt until the reſt of his troops came up, he began to divide his future conqueſts among his officers; and as a new incitement to ſerve him with zeal, gave them liberal promiſes of offices, lands and honours in France *. The face of deſolation, however, which preſented itſelf to him, when he entered the country, could ſcarce fail to damp his hopes; and to convince him that a Monarch, who, in order to diſtreſs an enemy, had voluntarily ruined one of his richeſt provinces, would defend the reſt with obſtinate deſpair. Nor was it long before he became ſenſible, that Francis's plan of defence was as prudent as it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on which Charles chiefly depended for ſubſiſtence, was prevented for ſome time by contrary winds, and other accidents to which naval

* Belay, 266. 2.

operations

operations are ſubject, from approaching the French coaſt; and even after its arrival, it afforded at beſt a precarious and ſcanty ſupply to ſuch a numerous body of troops †; nothing was to be found in the country itſelf for their ſupport; nor could they draw any conſiderabe aid from the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, exhauſted already by maintaining two great armies. The Emperor was no leſs embarraſſed how to employ, than how to ſubſiſt his forces; for, though he was now in poſſeſſion of almoſt an entire province, he could not however be ſaid to have the command of it, while he held only defenceleſs towns; and while the French, beſides their camp at Avignon, continued maſters of Marſeilles and Arles. At firſt he thought of attacking the camp, and of determinating the war by one deciſive blow; but ſkilful officers, who were appointed to view it, declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable. He then commanded Marſeilles and Arles to be inveſted, hoping that the French would quit their advantageous poſt in order to relieve them; but Montmorency adhering firmly to his plan, remained immovable at Avignon, and the Imperialiſts met with ſuch a warm reception from the garriſons of both towns, that they relinquiſhed their enterprizes with loſs and diſgrace. As a laſt effort, the Emperor advanced once more towards Avignon, tho' with an army haraſſed by the perpetual incurſions of ſmall parties of the French light troops, weakened by diſeaſes, and diſpirited by diſaſters, which ſeemed more intolerable, becauſe they were unexpected.

Beſieges Marſeilles.

DURING theſe operations Montmorency found himſelf expoſed to greater danger from his own troops than from the enemy; and their inconſiderate valour went near to have precipitated the kingdom into thoſe calamities, which he with ſuch induſtry and caution had endeavoured to avoid. Unaccuſtomed to behold an enemy ravaging their country almoſt without controul; impatient of ſuch long inaction; unacquainted with the ſlow and remote, but certain effects of Montmorency's ſyſtem of defence; the French wiſhed for a battle with no leſs ardour than the Imperialiſts. They conſidered the conduct of their general as a diſgrace to their country. His caution they imputed to timidity; his circumſpection to want of ſpirit; and the conſtancy with which he purſued his plan

Montmorency's fortitude in adhering to his plan of defence.

† Sandov. ii. 231.

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to obſtinacy or pride. Theſe reflections, whiſpered, at firſt, among the ſoldiers and ſubalterns, were adopted, by degrees, by officers of higher rank: and as many of theſe envied Montmorency's favour with the King, and more were diſſatisfied with his harſh diſguſting manner, the diſcontent ſoon became great in his camp, which was filled with general murmurings and almoſt open complaints againſt his meaſures. Montmorency, on whom the ſentiments of his own troops made as little impreſſion as the inſults of the enemy, adhered ſteadily to his ſyſtem; though in order to reconcile the army to his maxims, no leſs contrary to the genius of the nation, than to the ideas of war among undiſciplined troops, he aſſumed an unuſal affability in his deportment, and often explained with great condeſcenſion the motives of his conduct, the advantages which had already reſulted from it, and the certain ſucceſs with which it would be attended. At laſt Francis joined his army at Avignon, which having received ſeveral reinforcements, he now conſidered as of ſtrength ſufficient to face the enemy. As he had put upon himſelf no ſmall conſtraint, in having conſented that his troops ſhould remain ſo long upon the defenſive, it can be ſcarce doubted but that his fondneſs for what was daring and ſplendid, added to the impatience both of officers and ſoldiers, would have over-ruled Montmorency's ſalutary caution *.

The retreat and wretched condition of the Imperial army.

HAPPILY the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any raſh reſolution might have occaſioned. The Emperor, after ſpending two inglorious months in Provence, having performed nothing ſuitable to his vaſt preparations, or that could juſtify the confidence with which he had boaſted of his own power, found that, beſides Antonio de Leyva, and other officers of diſtinction, he had loſt one half of his troops by diſeaſes, or by famine; and that the reſt were in no condition to ſtruggle any longer with calamities, by which ſo many of their companions had periſhed. Neceſſity, therefore, extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was ſome time in motion before the French ſuſpected his intention, a body of light troops, aſſiſted by crowds of peaſants, eager to be revenged on thoſe who had brought ſuch deſolation on their country, hung upon the rear of the Imperialiſts, and by ſeizing every favourable

* Mem. de Bellay, 269, &c. 312, &c.

oppor-

opportunity of attacking them, threw them often into confuſion. The road by which they fled, for they purſued their march with ſuch diſorder and precipitation, that it ſcarce deſerves the name of a retreat, was ſtrewed with arms or baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the ſick, the wounded, and the dead; inſomuch that Martin Bellay, an eye-witneſs of their calamities, endeavours to give his readers ſome idea of it, by comparing their miſeries to thoſe which the Jews ſuffered from the victorious and deſtructive arms of the Romans *. If Montmorency at this critical moment had advanced with all his forces, nothing could have ſaved the whole Imperial army from utter ruin. But that general, by ſtanding ſo long and ſo obſtinately on the defenſive, had become cautious to exceſs: his mind, tenacious of any bent it had once taken, could not aſſume a contrary one as ſuddenly as the change of circumſtances required; and he ſtill continued to repeat his favourite maxims, that it was more prudent to allow the lion to eſcape, than to drive him to deſpair, and that a bridge of gold ſhould be made for a retreating enemy. Book VI. 1536.

THE Emperor having conducted the ſhattered remains of his troops to the frontiers of Milan, and appointed the marquis del Guaſto to ſucceed Leyva in the government of the dutchy, ſet out for Genoa. As he could not bear to expoſe himſelf to the ſcorn of the Italians, after ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune; and did not chooſe, under his preſent circumſtances, to reviſit thoſe cities through which he had ſo lately paſſed in triumph for one conqueſt, and in certain expectation of another; he embarked directly for Spain †. Novemb.

NOR was the progreſs of his arms on the oppoſite frontier of France ſuch as to alleviate in any degree the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in Provence. Bellay by his addreſs and intrigues had prevailed on ſo many of the German Princes to withdraw the contingent of troops which they furniſhed to the King of the Romans, that he was obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of his intended irruption into Champagne. Though a powerful army levied in the Low-Countries entered Picardy, which they found but feebly guarded, while the ſtrength of the kingdom Operations in Picardy.

* Mem. de Bellay, 316. Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 232. † Jovii Hiſtor. lib. 35. p. 174, &c.

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was drawn towards the ſouth; yet the nobility taking arms with their uſual alacrity, ſupplied by their ſpirit the defects of the King's preparations, and defended with ſuch vigour Peronne, and other towns which were attacked, as obliged the enemy to retire without making any conqueſt of importance *.

THUS Francis, by the prudence of his own meaſures, and by the union and valour of his ſubjects, rendered abortive thoſe vaſt efforts by which his rival had almoſt exhauſted his whole force. As this humbled the Emperor's arrogance no leſs than it checked his power, he was mortified more ſenſibly on this occaſion than on any other, during the courſe of the long conteſts between him and the French Monarch.

Death of the Dauphin.

ONE circumſtance alone embittered the joy with which the ſucceſs of the campaign inſpired Francis. That was the death of the Dauphin, his eldeſt ſon, a Prince of great hopes, and extremely beloved by the people on account of his reſemblance to his father. This happening ſuddenly, was imputed to poiſon, not only by the vulgar, fond of deſcribing the death of illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, but by the King and his miniſters. The count de Montecuculi, an Italian nobleman, cupbearer to the Dauphin, being ſeized on ſuſpicion, and put to the torture, openly charged the imperial generals, Gonzaga and Leyva, with having inſtigated him to the commiſſion of that crime, and threw out ſome indirect and obſcure accuſations againſt the Emperor himſelf. At a time when all France was animated with implacable hatred againſt Charles, this was conſidered as an inconteſtable proof of guilt; while the confidence with which both he and his officers aſſerted their own innocence, together with the indignation and horror which they expreſſed on their being ſuppoſed capable of ſuch a deteſtable action, were little attended to, and leſs regarded †. It is evident, however, that the Emperor could have no inducement to perpetrate ſuch a crime, as Francis was ſtill in the vigour of life himſelf, and had two ſons, beſides the Dauphin, grown up to a good age. That ſingle conſideration, without mentioning the Emperor's general character, unblemiſhed by the imputation of any deed reſembling this in atrocity, is more than ſufficient to counterbalance the weight of a dubious teſtimony uttered during the anguiſh

Imputed to poiſon.

* Mem. de Bellay, 318, &c. † Mem. de Bellay, 289.

of

of torture *. Acccording to the moſt unprejudiced hiſtorians, the Dauphin's death was occaſioned by his having drunk too freely of cold water after overheating himſelf at tennis; and this account, as it is the moſt ſimple, is likewiſe the moſt credible. But if his days were cut ſhort by poiſon, it is not improbable that the Emperor conjectured rightly, when he affirmed that it had been adminiſtered by the direction of Catharine of Medici, in order to ſecure the crown to the Duke of Orleans, her huſband. † The advantages reſulting to her by the Dauphin's death, were obvious as well as great; nor did her boundleſs and daring ambition ever ſcruple at any action neceſſary towards attaining the objects which ſhe had in view. 1536.

1537. Decrees of the parliament of Paris againſt the Emperor.

Next year opened with a tranſaction very uncommon, but ſo incapable of producing any effect, that it would not deſerve to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking proof of that perſonal animoſity which mingled itſelf in all the hoſtilities between Charles and Francis, and which often betrayed them into ſuch indecencies towards each other, as leſſened the dignity of both. Francis, accompanied by the peers and princes of the blood, having taken his ſeat in the parliament of Paris with the uſual ſolemnites, the advocate-general appeared; and after accuſing Charles of Auſtria, (for ſo he affected to call the Emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was abſolved from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; inſiſted that this treaty being now void, he was ſtill to be conſidered as a vaſſal of the crown, and, by conſequence, had been guilty of rebellion in taking arms againſt his ſovereign; and therefore he demanded that Charles ſhould be ſummoned to appear in perſon, or by his counſel, before the parliament of Paris, his legal judges, to anſwer for his crime. The requeſt was granted; a herald repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, and ſummoned him, with the accuſtomed formalities, to appear againſt a day prefixed. That term being expired, and no perſon appearing in his name, the parliament gave judgment, "That Charles of Auſtria had forfeited by rebellion and contumacy theſe fiefs; declared Flanders and Artois to be re-united to the crown of France; and ordered their

* Sandov. Hiſt. del Emper. ii. 231. † Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlo V. p. 75.

Book VI. decree for this purpoſe to be publiſhed by ſound of trumpet on the frontiers of theſe provinces *."

1537. Campaign opens in the Low-Countries. March.

SOON after this vain diſplay of his reſentment, rather than of his power, Francis marched towards the Low-Countries, as if he had intended to execute the ſentence which his parliament had pronounced, and to ſeize thoſe territories which it had awarded to him. As the Queen of Hungary, to whom her brother the Emperor had committed the government of that part of his dominions, was not prepared for ſo early a campaign, he at firſt made ſome progreſs, and took ſeveral towns of importance. But being obliged ſoon to leave his army, in order to ſuperintend the other operations of war, the Flemings having aſſembled a numerous army, not only recovered moſt of the places which they had loſt, but began to make conqueſts in their turn. At laſt they inveſted Ter uenne, and the Duke of Orleans, now Dauphin, by the death of his brother, and Montmorency, whom Francis had honoured with the conſtable's ſword, as the reward of his great ſervices during the former campaign, determined to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. While they were advancing for this purpoſe, and within a few miles of the enemy, they were ſtopt ſhort by the arrival of an herald from the Queen of Hungary, acquainting him that a ſuſpenſion of arms was now agreed upon.

A ſuſpenſion of arms there.

THIS unexpected event was owing to the zealous endeavours of the two ſiſters, the Queens of France and of Hungary, who had long laboured to reconcile the contending Monarchs. The war in the Netherlands had laid waſte the frontier provinces of both countries, without any real advantage to either; the French and Flemings equally regretted the interruption of their commerce, which was beneficial to both; and Charles and Francis, who had each ſtrained to the utmoſt, in order to ſupport the vaſt operations of the former campaign, found that they could not now keep armies on foot in this quarter, without weakening their operations in Piedmont, where both wiſhed to puſh the war with the greateſt vigour. All theſe circumſtances facilitated the negotiations of the two Queens; a truce was concluded, to continue in force for ten months, but it extended no farther than the Low-Countries †.

July 30.

* Lettres et Memoires d'Etat, par Ribier, 2 tom. Blois. 1666. tom. i. p. 1.
† Memoires de Ribier, 56.

IN

1537. And in Piedmont.

In Piedmont the war was ſtill proſecuted with great animoſity; and though neither Charles nor Francis could make the powerful efforts to which their animoſity prompted them, they continued to exert themſelves like combatants, whoſe rancour remains after their ſtrength is exhauſted. Towns were alternately loſt and retaken; ſkirmiſhes were fought every day; and much blood was ſhed, without any deciſive action, that gave the ſuperiority to either ſide. At laſt the two Queens determining not to leave unfiniſhed the good work which they had begun, prevailed, by their importunate ſolicitations, the one on her brother, the other on her huſband, to conſent alſo to a truce in Piedmont for three months, upon condition that each ſhould keep poſſeſſion of what was in his hands, and leaving garriſons in the towns, withdraw his army out of the province; and that plenipotentiaries ſhould be appointed to adjuſt all matters in diſpute by a final treaty *.

Motives of it.

The powerful motives which inclined both Princes to this accommodation, have been often mentioned. The expences of the war had far exceeded the ſums which their revenues were capable of ſupplying, nor durſt they venture upon any great addition to the impoſitions then eſtabliſhed, as ſubjects were not yet taught to bear with patience the immenſe burdens to which they have become accuſtomed in modern times. The Emperor, in particular, though he had contracted debts which in that age appeared prodigious †, had it not in his power to pay the large arrears which had been long due to his army. At the ſame time he had no proſpect of deriving any aid in money or men either from the Pope or Venetians, tho' he had employed promiſes and threats, alternately, in order to procure it. But he found the former fixed in his reſolution of adhering ſteadily to the neutrality which he had always declared to be ſuitable to his character, and paſſionately deſirous of bringing about a peace. He perceived that the latter were ſtill intent on their ancient object of holding the balance even between the rivals, and ſolicitous not to throw too great a weight into either ſcale.

Of which Francis's alliance with the Turkiſh Emperor the moſt conſiderable.

What made a deeper impreſſion on Charles than all theſe, was the dread of the Turkiſh arms, which Francis had

* Mem. de Ribier, 62. † Ribier, i. 294.

Book VI. had drawn upon him by his league with Solyman. Tho' Francis, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle ally, had a war to maintain againſt an enemy greatly ſuperior in power to himſelf, yet ſo great was the horror of Chriſtians, in that age, at any union with Infidels, which they conſidered not only as diſhonourable but profane, that it was long before he could be brought to avail himſelf of the obvious advantages reſulting from ſuch a confederacy. Neceſſity at laſt ſurmounted his delicacy and ſcruples; and towards the cloſe of the preceding year, La Foreſt, a ſecret agent at the Ottoman porte, had concluded a treaty with the Sultan, whereby Solyman engaged to invade, next campaign, the kingdom of Naples, and to attack the King of the Romans in Hungary with a powerful army, while Francis undertook to enter the Milaneſe at the ſame time with a proper force. Solyman had punctually performed what was incumbent on him. Barbaroſſa with a great fleet appeared on the coaſt of Naples, filled that kingdom, from which all the troops had been drawn towards Piedmont, with conſternation, landed without reſiſtance near Tarento, obliged Caſtro, a place of ſome ſtrength, to ſurrender, plundered the adjacent country, and was taking meaſures for ſecuring and extending his conqueſts, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, together with the Pope's gallies, and a ſquadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary the progreſs of the Turks was more formidable. Mahmet, their general, after gaining ſeveral ſmall advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Eſſeck on the Drave *. Happily for Chriſtendom, it was not in Francis's power to execute with equal exactneſs what he had ſtipulated; nor could he aſſemble at this juncture an army ſtrong enough to penetrate into the Milaneſe. By this he failed in recovering poſſeſſion of that dutchy; and Italy was not only ſaved from the calamities of a new war, but from feeling as an addition to all that it had ſuffered the deſolating rage of the Turkiſh arms †. As the Emperor knew that he could not long reſiſt the efforts of two ſuch powerful confederates, nor could expect that the ſame fortunate accidents would concur a ſecond time to deliver Naples, and to preſerve the Milaneſe: As he foreſaw that the Italian ſtates would not only tax him loudly with inſa-

1537.

* Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Hung. lib. xiii. p. 139.
† Jovii Hiſtor. lib. xxxv. p. 183.

tiable

tiable ambition, but might even turn their arms againſt him, if he ſhould be ſo regardleſs of their danger as obſtinately to protract the war, he thought it neceſſary, both for his ſafety and reputation, to give his conſent to a truce. Nor was Francis willing to ſuſtain all the blame of obſtructing the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, or to expoſe himſelf on that account to the danger of being deſerted by the Swiſs and other foreigners in his ſervice. He even began to apprehend that his own ſubjects would ſerve him coldly, if by contributing to aggrandize the power of the Infidels, which it was his duty, and had been the ambition of his anceſtors to depreſs, he continued to act in direct oppoſition to all the principles which ought to influence a Monarch diſtinguiſhed by the title of Moſt Chriſtian King. He choſe, for all theſe reaſons, rather to run the riſque of diſobliging his new ally the Sultan, than, by an unſeaſonable adherence to the treaty with him, to forfeit what was of greater conſequence. 1537.

Negotiations of a peace between Charles and Francis.

But though both parties conſented to a truce, the plenipotentiaries found inſuperable difficulties in ſettling the articles of a definitive treaty. Each of the Monarchs, with the arrogance of a conqueror, aimed at giving law to the other; and neither would ſo far acknowledge his inferiority, as to ſacrifice any point of honour, or to relinquiſh any matter of right; ſo that the plenipotentiaries ſpent the time in long and fruitleſs negotiations, and ſeparated after agreeing to prolong the truce for a few months. 1538.

The Pope conducts theſe in perſon.

The Pope, however, did not deſpair of accompliſhing a point in which the plenipotentiaries had failed, and took upon himſelf the ſole burden of negotiating a peace. To form a confederacy capable of defending Chriſtendom from the formidable inroads of the Turkiſh arms, and to concert effectual meaſures for the extirpation of the Lutheran hereſy, were two great objects which Paul had much at heart, and he conſidered the union of the Emperor with the King of France as an eſſential preliminary to both. To be the inſtrument of reconciling theſe contending Monarchs, whom his predeceſſors by their intereſted and indecent intrigues had ſo often embroiled, was a circumſtance which could not fail of throwing diſtinguiſhed luſtre on his character and adminiſtration. Nor was he without hopes that while he purſued this laudable end, he might ſecure advantages to his own family, the aggrandizing of which he did not neglect, though he aimed

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aimed at it with a leſs audacious ambition than was common among the Popes of that century. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, he propoſed an interview between the two Monarchs at Nice, and offered to repair thither in perſon, that he might act as mediator in compoſing all their differences. When a Pontiff of a venerable character, and of very advanced age, was willing, from his zeal for peace, to undergo the fatigues of ſuch a diſtant journey, neither Charles nor Francis could with decency decline the interview. But though both came to the place of rendezvous, ſo great was the difficulty of adjuſting the ceremonial, or ſuch the remains of diſtruſt and rancour on each ſide, that they refuſed to ſee one another, and every thing was tranſacted by the intervention of the Pope, who viſited them alternately. Nor could he, with all his zeal and ingenuity, find out any method of removing the obſtacles, particularly thoſe ariſing from the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, which prevented a final accommodation; nor was all the weight of his authority, ſufficient to overcome the obſtinate perſeverance of either Monarch in aſſerting his own claims. At laſt, that he might not ſeem to have laboured altogether without effect, he prevailed on them to ſign a truce for ten years, upon the ſame condition with the former, that each ſhould retain what was now in his poſſeſſion, and in the mean time ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to diſcuſs their pretenſions at leiſure *.

A truce for ten years concluded at Nice. June 18.

Thus ended a war of no long continuance, but very extenſive in its operations, and in which both parties exerted their utmoſt ſtrength. Tho' Francis failed in the object that he had principally in view, the recovery of the Milaneſe, he acquired, nevertheleſs, great reputation by the wiſdom of his meaſures, as well as the ſucceſs of his arms in repulſing a formidable invaſion; and by ſecuring poſſeſſion of one half of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, he added no inconſiderable acceſſion to his kingdom. Whereas, Charles, repulſed and baffled, after having boaſted ſo arrogantly of victory, purchaſed an inglorious truce, by ſacrificing an ally who had raſhly confided too much in his friendſhip and power. The unfortunate Duke murmured, complained, and remonſtrated againſt a

* Recueil des Traitez, ii. 210. Relatione del Nicolo Tiepolo de l'abocamento di Nizza chez. Du Mont Corps Diplomat. par. ii. p. 172.

treaty

treaty so much to his disadvantage; but in vain; he had no means of redress, and was obliged to submit. Of all his dominions, Nice, with its dependencies, was the only corner of which he himself kept possession. He saw the rest divided between a powerful invader, and the ally to whose protection he had trusted, while he remained a sad monument of the imprudence of weak Princes, who, by taking part in the quarrel of mighty neighbours, between whom they happen to be situated, are crushed and overwhelmed in the shock.

Interview between Charles and Francis at Aigues-mortes.

A few days after signing the treaty of truce, the Emperor set sail for Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the island St. Margaret on the coast of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far distant, heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility, to invite him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview with him at Aigues-mortes. The Emperor, who would not be outdone by his rival in complaisance, instantly repaired thither. As soon as he cast anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to settle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his security, visited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection. Next day, the Emperor repaid the confidence which the King had placed in him. He landed at Aigues-mortes with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on shore during the night, and in both visits, they vied with each other in expressions of respect and friendship *. After twenty years of open hostilities, or of secret enmity; after so many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured; after having formally given the lie, and challenged one another to single combat; after the Emperor had inveighed so publicly against Francis, as a Prince void of honour or integrity; and Francis had accused him as accessary to the murder of his eldest son; such an interview appears altogether singular, and even unnatural. But the history of these Monarchs abounds with such surprizing transitions. From implacable enmity, they appeared to pass, in a moment, to the most cordial reconcilement; from suspicion and distrust, to

* Sandov. Hist. vol. ii. 238. Relation de l'entrevue de Charl. V. & Fran. I. par M. de la Rivoire. Hist. de Langued. par. D. D. De Vie & Vaisette, tom. v. Preuves, p. 93.

perfect

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perfect confidence; and from practising all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could assume, of a sudden, the liberal and open manners of two gallant gentlemen.

The assassination of Alexander de Medici.

The Pope, besides the glory of having restored peace to Europe, gained, according to his expectation, a point of great consequence to his family, by prevailing on the Emperor to betroth Margaret of Austria his natural daughter, formerly the wife of Alexander de Medici, to his grandson Octavio Farnese, and in consideration of this marriage, to bestow several honours and territories upon his future son-in-law. A very tragical event, which happened about the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven, had deprived Margaret of her first husband. That young prince, whom the Emperor's partiality had raised to the supreme power in Florence, upon the ruins of the public liberty, neglected entirely the cares of government, and abandoned himself to the most dissolute debauchery. Lorenzo de Medici his nearest kinsman, was not only the companion, but director of his pleasures, and employing all the powers of a cultivated and inventive genius in this dishonourable ministry, added such elegance and variety to vice, as gained him an absolute ascendant over the mind of Alexander. But while Lorenzo seemed to be sunk in luxury, and affected such an appearance of indolence and effeminacy, that he would not wear a sword, and trembled at the sight of blood, he concealed under that disguise, a dark, designing, audacious spirit. Prompted either by the love of liberty, or allured by the hope of attaining the supreme power, he determined to assassinate Alexander his benefactor and friend. Though he long revolved this design in his mind, his reserved and suspicious temper prevented him from communicating it to any person whatever; and continuing to live with Alexander in their usual familiarity, he, one night, under pretence of having secured him an assignation with a lady of high rank, whom he had often solicited, drew that unwary Prince into a secret apartment of his house, and there stabbed him, while he lay carelessly on a couch, expecting the arrival of the lady whose company he had been promised. But no sooner was the deed done, than standing astonished, and struck with horror at its atrocity, he forgot, in a moment, all the motives which had induced him to commit it, and, instead of rouzing the people to recover their liberty, by publishing the death of the tyrant, instead of taking any

step

ſtep towards opening his own way to the dignity now vacant, he locked the door of the apartment, and, like a man bereaved of reaſon and preſence of mind, fled with the utmoſt precipitation out of the Florentine territories. It was late next morning before the fate of the unfortunate Prince was known, as his attendants, accuſtomed to his irregularities, never entered his apartment early. Immediately the chief perſons in the ſtate aſſembled. Being induced partly by the zeal of cardinal Cibo for the houſe of Medici, to which he was nearly related, partly by the authority of Francis Guicciardini, who recalled to their memory, and repreſented in ſtriking colours the caprice, as well as turbulence of their ancient popular government, they agreed to place Coſmo de Medici, a youth of eighteen, the only male heir of that illuſtrious houſe, at the head of the government; though at the ſame time ſuch was their love of liberty, that they eſtabliſhed ſeveral regulations in order to circumſcribe and moderate his power.

Coſmo de Medici placed at the head of the Florentine ſtate.

MEANWHILE Lorenzo having reached a place of ſafety, made known what he had done, to Philip Strozzi and the other Florentines who had been driven into exile, or who had voluntarily retired, when the republican form of government was aboliſhed in order to make way for the dominion of the Medici. By them, the deed was extolled with extravagant praiſes, and the virtue of Lorenzo was compared with that of the elder Brutus, who diſregarded the ties of blood, or with that of the younger, who forgot the friendſhip and favours of the tyrant, that they might preſerve or recover the liberty of their country *. Nor did they reſt ſatisfied with empty panegyricks; they immediately quitted their different places of retreat, aſſembled forces, animated their vaſſals and partizans to take arms, and to ſeize this opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing the public liberty on its ancient foundation. Being openly aſſiſted by the French ambaſſador at Rome, and ſecretly encouraged by the Pope, who bore no good will to the houſe of Medici, they entered the Florentine dominions with a conſiderable body of men. But the perſons who had elected Coſmo, poſſeſſed both the means of ſupporting his government, and abilities to employ them in the moſt proper manner. They levied, with the greateſt ex-

His government oppoſed by the Florentine exiles.

* Lettere di Principi, tom. iii. p. 52.

pedition.

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1538. pedition, a good number of troops; they endeavoured by every art, to gain the citizens of greateſt authority, and to render the adminiſtration of the young Prince agreeable to the people. Above all, they courted the Emperor's protection, as the only firm foundation of Coſmo's dignity and power. Charles, knowing the propenſity of the Florentines to the friendſhip of France, and how much all the partizans of a republican government deteſted him as the oppreſſor of their liberties, ſaw it to be greatly for his intereſt to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient conſtitution in Florence. For this reaſon, he not only acknowledged Coſmo as head of the Florentine ſtate, and conferred on him all the titles of honour with which Alexander had been dignified, but engaged to defend him to the utmoſt; and as a pledge of this, ordered the commanders of ſuch of his troops as were ſtationed on the frontiers of Tuſcany, to ſupport him againſt all aggreſſors. By their aid, Coſmo obtained an eaſy victory over the exiles, whoſe troops he ſurprized in the night-time, and took moſt of the chiefs priſoners; an event which broke all their meaſures, and fully eſtabliſhed his own authority. But though he was extremely deſirous of the additional honour of marrying the Emperor's daughter, the widow of his predeceſſor, Charles, ſecure already of his attachment, choſe rather to gratify the Pope by beſtowing her on his nephew *.

The friendſhip between Francis and Henry VIII. begins to abate.

DURING the war between the Emperor and Francis, an event had happened which abated in ſome degree the warmth and cordiality of friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between the latter and the King of England. James the fifth of Scotland, an enterprizing young Prince, having heard of the Emperor's intention to invade Provence, and being fond of ſhewing that he did not yield to any of his anceſtors in the ſincerity of his attachment to the French crown, as well as eager to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome military exploit, levied a body of troops with an intention of leading them in perſon to the aſſiſtance of the King of France. Though ſome unfortunate accident prevented his carrying any troops into France, nothing could divert him from going thither in perſon. Immediately upon his landing he haſtened to Provence, but had been

* Jovii Hiſt. lib. xcviii. p. 218, &c. Belcarii Comment. l. 22. p. 696. Iſtoria de ſui tempi di Giov. Bat. Adriani. Ven. 1587. p. 10.

detained

detained ſo long in his voyage that he could not have any ſhare in the military operations, and he met the King on his return after the retreat of the Imperialiſts. Francis, greatly pleaſed with his zeal, and no leſs with his manners and converſation, could not refuſe him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage. It mortified Henry extremely to ſee a Prince of whom he was lately become jealous, after having long treated him and his ſubjects with contempt, form an alliance, from which he derived ſuch an acceſſion both of reputation and ſecurity *. He could not, however, with decency oppoſe Francis's beſtowing his daughter upon a Monarch deſcended from a race of Princes, the moſt ancient and faithful allies of the French crown. But when James, upon the ſudden death of Magdalen, demanded as his ſecond wife Mary of Guiſe, he warmly ſolicited Francis to deny his ſuit, and in order to diſappoint him, aſked that lady in marriage for himſelf. When Francis preferred the Scottiſh King's ſincere courtſhip to his artful and malevolent propoſal, he diſcovered much diſſatisfaction. The pacification agreed upon at Nice, and the familiar interview of the two rivals at Aigues-mortes, filled Henry's mind with new ſuſpicions, as if Francis had altogether renounced his friendſhip for the ſake of new connections with the Emperor. Charles, thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the Engliſh King, and watchful to obſerve all the ſhiftings and caprices of his paſſions, thought this a favourable opportunity of renewing his negotiations with him, which had long been broken off. By the death of Queen Catherine, whoſe intereſt the Emperor could not with decency have abandoned, the chief cauſe of their diſcord was removed; ſo that without touching upon the delicate queſtion of her divorce, he might now take what meaſures he thought moſt effectual for regaining Henry's good will. For this purpoſe, he began with propoſing ſeveral marriage-treaties to the King. He offered his niece, a daughter of the King of Denmark, to Henry himſelf; he demanded the Princeſs Mary for one of the Princes of Portugal, and was even willing to receive her as the King's illegitimate daughter †. Though none of theſe projected alliances ever took place, or perhaps were ever ſeriouſly intended, they occaſioned ſuch frequent intercourſe between the courts, and ſo many reciprocal profeſſions of civility

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The Emperor courts Henry.

* Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 77. † Mem. de Bibier, t. i. 496.

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and eſteem, as conſiderabty abated the edge of Henry's rancour againſt the Emperor, and paved the way for that union between them which afterwards proved ſo diſadvantageous to the French King.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

THE ambitious ſchemes in which the Emperor had been engaged, and the wars he had been carrying on for ſome years proved, as uſual, extremely favourable to the progreſs of the reformation in Germany. While Charles was abſent upon his African expedition, or intent on his vaſt projects againſt France, his chief object in Germany was to prevent the diſſentions about religion from diſturbing the publick tranquillity, by granting ſuch indulgence to the Proteſtant Princes as might induce them to concur with his meaſures, or at leaſt hinder them from taking part with his rival. For this reaſon, he was careful to ſecure to the Proteſtants the poſſeſſion of all the advantages which they had gained by the articles of pacification at Nuremberg, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two *; and except ſome ſlight trouble from the proceedings of the imperial Chamber, they met with nothing to diſturb them in the exerciſe of their religion, or to interrupt the ſucceſsful zeal with which they propagated their opinions.

Negotiations and intrigues with reſpect to a general council.

Mean while the Pope continued his negotiations for convoking a general council; and though the Proteſtants had expreſſed great diſſatisfaction with his intention to fix upon Mantua as the place of meeting, he adhered obſtinately to his choice, iſſued a bull on the ſecond of June, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, appointing to aſſemble in that city on the twenty-third of May the year following; he nominated three cardinals to precide in his name; enjoined all Chriſtian Princes to countenance it by their authority, and invited the prelates of every nation to attend in perſon. This citation of a council, an aſſembly which from its nature and intention demanded quiet times, as well as pacific diſpoſitions, at the very juncture, when the Emperor was on his march towards France, and ready to involve a great part of Europe in the confuſions of war, appeared to every perſon extremely unſeaſonable. It was intimated, however, to all the different courts by nuncios diſpatched of purpoſe †. The Emperor, with an intention to gratify the Germans, had, during his reſidence at Rome,

* Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 138.
† Pallavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. 113.

warmly

warmly ſolicited the Pope to call a council; but being at the ſame time willing to try every art in order to perſuade Paul to depart from the neutrality which he preſerved between him and Francis, he ſent Heldo his vice chancellor along with the nuncio whom the Pope employed in Germany, inſtructing him to ſecond all the nuncio's repreſentations, and to enforce them with the whole weight of the imperial authority. The proteſtants gave them audience at Smalkalde, where they had aſſembled in a body, in order to receive them. But after weighing all their arguments, they unanimouſly refuſed to acknowledge a council ſummoned in the name and by the authority of the Pope alone; in which he aſſumed the ſole right of preſiding; which was to be held in a city not only far diſtant from Germany, but ſubject to a Prince, a ſtranger to them, and cloſely connected with the court of Rome; and to which their Divines could not repair with ſafety, eſpecially after their doctrines had been ſtigmatized in the very bull of convocation with the name of hereſy. Theſe and many other objections againſt the council, which appeared to them unanſwerable, they enumerated in a large manifeſto, which they publiſhed in vindication of their conduct *.

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AGAINST this the court of Rome exclaimed as a flagrant proof of their obſtinacy and preſumption, and the Pope ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to hold the council at the time and in the place appointed. But ſome unexpected difficulties being ſtarted by the Duke of Mantua, both about the right of juriſdiction over thoſe who reſorted to the council, and the ſecurity of his capital amidſt ſuch a concourſe of ſtrangers, the Pope, after fruitleſs endeavours to adjuſt theſe, firſt prorogued the council for ſome months, and afterwards transferring the place of meeting to Vicenza in the Venetian territories, appointed it to aſſemble on the firſt of May in the following year. As neither the Emperor nor French King, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their ſubjects to repair thither, not a ſingle prelate appeared on the day prefixed, and the Pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by ſo many ineffectual intimations, put off the meeting by an indefinitive prorogation †.

Oct. 8, 1538.

* Sleidan, l. xii. 123, &c. Seckend. Com. lib. iii. p. 143, &c.
† F. Paul, 117. Pallavic. 117.

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Apartial reformation of abuſes by the Pope.

MEANWHILE, that he might not ſeem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accompliſh, while he neglected that which was in his power, he deputed a certain number of cardinals and biſhops with full authority to inquire into the abuſes and corruptions of the Roman court; and to propoſe the moſt effectual method of removing them. This ſcrutiny, undertaken with reluctance, was carried on ſlowly and with remiſſneſs. All defects were touched with a gentle hand, afraid of probing too deep, or of diſcovering too much. But even by this partial examination, many irregularities were detected, and many enormities expoſed to light, while the remedies which they ſuggeſted as moſt proper were either inadequate, or were never applied. The report and reſolutions of theſe deputies, though intended to be kept ſecret, were tranſmitted by ſome accident into Germany, and being immediately made public, afforded ample matter for reflection and triumph to the Proteſtants *. On the one hand, they demonſtrated the neceſſity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the church, and even pointed out many of the corruptions againſt which Luther and his followers had remonſtrated with the greateſt vehemence. They ſhewed, on the other hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from eccleſiaſticks themſelves, who, as Luther ſtrongly expreſſed it, piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers †.

A league formed in oppoſition to that at Smalkalde.

THE earneſtneſs with which the Emperor ſeemed, at firſt, to preſs their acquieſcing in the Pope's ſcheme of holding a council in Italy, having alarmed the Proteſtant Princes ſo much, that they thought it prudent to ſtrengthen their confederacy, by admitting ſeveral new members who ſolicited that privilege, particularly the King of Denmark; Heldo, who, during his reſidence in Germany, had obſerved all the advantages which they derived from that union, endeavoured to counterbalance its effects by an alliance among the catholick powers of the empire. This league, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Holy*, was merely defenſive, and though concluded by Heldo in the Emperor's name, was afterwards diſowned by him, and ſubſcribed by very few Princes ‡

* Sleidan, 233. † Seck. l. iii. 164.
‡ Seck. l. iii. 171. Recueil des Traitez.

THE

1539. Alarms the Proteſtants.

THE Proteſtants ſoon got intelligence of this aſſociation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the contracting parties to conceal it; and their zeal, always apt to ſuſpect and to dread, even to exceſs, every thing that ſeemed to threaten religion, inſtantly took the alarm, as if the Emperor had been juſt ready to enter upon the execution of ſome formidable plan for the extirpation of their opinions. In order to diſappoint this, they held frequent conſultations; they courted the Kings of France and England with great aſſiduity, and even began to think of raiſing the reſpective contingents both in men and money, which they were obliged to furniſh by the treaty of Smalkalde. But it was not long before they were convinced, that theſe apprehenſions were without foundation, and that the Emperor, to whom repoſe was abſolutely neceſſary, after being exhauſted by efforts beyond his ſtrength in the war with France, had no thoughts of diſturbing the tranquillity of Germany. As a proof of this, his ambaſſadors, at an interview with the Proteſtant Princes in Francfort, agreed that all conceſſions in their favour, particularly thoſe contained in the pacification of Nuremberg, ſhould continue in force for fifteen months; that during this period, all proceedings of the imperial chamber againſt them ſhould be ſuſpended; that a conference ſhould be held by a few divines of each party, in order to diſcuſs the points in controverſy, and to propoſe articles of accommodation, which ſhould be laid before the next diet. Though the emperor, that he might not irritate the Pope, who remonſtrated againſt the firſt part of this agreement as impolitick, and againſt the latter, as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was obſerved with conſiderable exactneſs, and greatly ſtrengthened the baſis of that eccleſiaſtical liberty, for which the Proteſtants contended *.

April 19.

A FEW days after the convention at Francfort, happened the death of George Duke of Saxony, an event of great advantage to the reformation. That Prince, the head of the Albertine or younger branch of the Saxon family, poſſeſſed, as marquis of Miſnia and Thuringia, extenſive territories, comprehending Dreſden, Leipſick, and other cities now the moſt conſiderable in the electorate. From the firſt dawn of the Reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly, as the electoral Princes were its pro-

April 24. Reformation eſtabliſhed in every part of Saxony.

* F. Paul, 82. Sleid. 247 Seck. l. iii. 200.

Book VI. tectors, and had carried on his oppoſition not only with all the zeal flowing from religious prejudices, but with a
1539. virulence inſpired by perſonal antipathy to Luther, and imbittered by the domeſtic animoſity, ſubſiſting between him and the other branch of his family. By his death without iſſue, his ſucceſſion fell to his brother Henry, whoſe attachment to the Proteſtant religion, ſurpaſſed, if poſſible, that of his predeceſſor to popery. Henry no ſooner took poſſeſſion of his new dominions, than, diſregarding a clauſe in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his territories to the Emperor and king of the Romans, if his brother ſhould attempt to make any innovation in religion; he invited ſome Proteſtant divines, and among them Luther himſelf, to Leipſick. By their advice and aſſiſtance, he overturned, in a few weeks, the whole ſyſtem of ancient rites, eſtabliſhing the full exerciſe of the reformed religion, with the univerſal applauſe of his ſubjects, who had long wiſhed for this change, which the authority of their Duke alone had hitherto prevented *. This revolution delivered the Proteſtants from the danger to which they were expoſed, by having an inveterate enemy ſituated in the middle of their territories; and their dominions now extended in one great and almoſt unbroken line, from the ſhore of the Baltick to the banks of the Rhine.

A mutiny of the Imperial troops.

Soon after the concluſion of the Truce at Nice, an event happened, which ſatisfied all Europe, that Charles had proſecuted the war to the utmoſt extremity, that the ſtate of his affairs would permit. Vaſt arrears were due to his troops, whom he had long amuſed with vain hopes and promiſes. As they now foreſaw that little attention would be paid to their demands, when by the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, their ſervices became of leſs importance, they loſt all patience, broke out into an open mutiny, and declared, that they thought themſelves entitled to ſeize by violence, what was detained from them contrary to all juſtice. Nor was this ſpirit of ſedition confined to one part of the Emperor's dominions; the mutiny was almoſt as general as the grievance which gave riſe to it. The ſoldiers in the Milaneſe, plundered the open country without controul, and filled the capital itſelf with conſternation. Thoſe in garriſon at Goletta, threatened to give

* Sleidan, 249.

up

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up that important fortreſs to Barbaroſſa. In Sicily, the troops proceeded to ſtill greater exceſſes; having chaced away their officers, they elected others in their ſtead, defeated a body of men whom the viceroy ſent againſt them, took and pillaged ſeveral cities, conducting themſelves all the while, in ſuch a manner, that their operations reſembled rather the regular proceedings of a concerted rebellion, than the raſhneſs and violence of a military mutiny. But by the addreſs and prudence of the generals, who, partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their maſter, partly by extorting large ſums from the cities in their reſpective provinces, raiſed what was ſufficient to diſcharge the arrears of the ſoldiers, theſe inſurrections were quelled. The greater part of the troops being diſbanded, ſuch a number only as was neceſſary for garriſoning the principal towns, and protecting the ſea coaſts from the inſults of the Turks, was kept in pay *.

Cortes of Caſtile held at Toledo.

It was happy for the Emperor, that the abilities of his generals extricated him out of theſe difficulties, which it exceeded his own power to have removed. He had depended, as his chief reſource for diſcharging the arrears due to his ſoldiers, upon the ſubſidies which he expected from his Caſtilian ſubjects. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled the Cortes of Caſtile at Toledo, and having repreſented to them the great expence of his military operations, together with the vaſt debts in which theſe had neceſſarily involved him, he propoſed to levy ſuch ſupplies as the preſent exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general exciſe on commodities. But the Spaniards who already felt themſelves oppreſſed with a load of taxes unknown to their anceſtors, and who had often complained that their country, in order to proſecute quarrels in which it was not intereſted, and to fight battles from which it could reap no benefit, was drained not only of its wealth but of its inhabitants, determined not to add voluntarily to their own burdens, or to furniſh the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprizes no leſs ruinous to the kingdom, than moſt of thoſe which he had hitherto carried on. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence againſt the impoſition propoſed, as an encroachment upon the valuable and diſtinguiſhing privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the repreſentatives of

The Complaints and diſſatisfaction of that aſſembly.

* Jovii Hiſtor. l. xxxvii. 203. e. Sandov. Ferreras, ix. 209.

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the cities concerning the ſtate of the nation. They contended that if Charles would imitate the example of his predeceſſors, who had reſided conſtantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himſelf in a multiplicity of tranſactions foreign to the concerns of his Spaniſh dominions, the ſtated revenues of the crown would be fully ſufficient to defray the neceſſary expences of government. They repreſented to him that it would be unjuſt to lay new burdens upon the people, while this prudent and effectual method of re-eſtabliſhing public credit, and ſecuring national opulence, was totally neglected *. Charles, after employing arguments, entreaties and promiſes, but without ſucceſs, in order to overcome their obſtinacy, diſmiſſed the aſſembly with great indignation. From that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to theſe aſſemblies, on pretence that ſuch as pay no part of the public taxes, ſhould claim no vote in laying them on. None have been admitted to the Cortes but the procurators or repreſentatives of eighteen cities. Theſe, to the number of thirty-ſix, being two from each community, form an aſſembly which bears no reſemblance either in power or dignity or independence to the ancient Cortes, and are abſolutely at the devotion of the court in all their determinations †. Thus the imprudent zeal with which the Caſtilian nobles had ſupported the regal prerogative, in oppoſition to the claims of the commons during the commotions in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, proved at laſt fatal to their own body. By enabling Charles to depreſs one of the orders in the ſtate, they deſtroyed that balance to which the conſtitution owed its ſecurity, and put it in his power and that of his ſucceſſors to humble the other, and to ſtrip it of its moſt valuable privileges.

The ancient conſtitution of the Cortes ſubverted.

The Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed high privileges.

At that time, however, the Spaniſh grandees ſtill poſſeſſed extraordinary power as well as privileges, which they exerciſed and defended with an haughtineſs peculiar to themſelves. Of this the Emperor himſelf had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As he was returning one day from a tournament accompanied by moſt of the nobility, one of the ſerjeants of the court, out of officious zeal to clear the way for the Emperor, ſtruck the Duke of Infantado's horſe with his bat-

* Sandov. Hiſt. vol. ii. 269. † Sandov. ibid. La Science du Gouvernement, par M. de Real, tom. ii. p. 102.

ton

ton, which that haughty grandee reſenting, drew his ſword, beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at ſuch an inſolent deed in his preſence, immediately ordered Ronquillo the judge of the court, to arreſt the Duke; Ronquillo advanced to execute his charge, when the conſtable of Caſtile interpoſing, checked him, claimed the right of juriſdicton over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his own apartment. All the nobles preſent were ſo pleaſed with the boldneſs of the conſtable in aſſerting the rights of their order, that deſerting the Emperor, they attended him to his houſe with infinite applauſes, and Charles returned to the palace without any perſon along with him but the cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, how ſenſible ſoever of the affront, ſaw the danger of irritating a jealous and high-ſpirited order of men, whom the ſlighteſt appearance of offence might drive to the moſt unwarrantable extremes. For that reaſon, inſtead of ſtraining at any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, he prudently connived at the arrogance of a body too potent for him to controul, and ſent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what puniſhment he pleaſed on the perſon who had affronted him. The Duke conſidering this as a full reparation to his honour, inſtantly forgave the officer; beſtowing on him, beſides, a conſiderable preſent as a compenſation for his wound. Thus the affair was entirely forgotten *; nor would it have deſerved to be mentioned, if it were not a ſtriking example of the haughty and independent ſpirit of the Spaniſh nobles in that age, as well as an inſtance of the Emperor's dexterity in accommodating his conduct to the circumſtances in which he was placed.

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CHARLES was far from diſcovering any ſuch condeſcenſion or lenity towards the citizens of Ghent, who not long after broke out into open rebellion againſt his government. An event which happened in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, gave occaſion to this raſh inſurrection ſo fatal to that flouriſhing city. At that time the Queen Dowager of Hungary, governeſs of the Netherlands, having received orders from her brother to invade France with all the forces which ſhe could raiſe, ſhe aſſembled the States of the united Provinces, and obtained from them a ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand

Inſurrection at Ghent.

* Sandov. xi. 274. Ferreras, ix. 212. Miniana, 113.

florins,

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florins, to defray the expence of that undertaking. Of this ſum, the county of Flanders was obliged to pay a third part as its proportion. But the citizens of Ghent, the moſt conſiderable city in that country, averſe to a war with France with which they carried on an extenſive and gainful commerce, refuſed to pay their quota, and contended that in conſequence of ſtipulations between them and the anceſtors of their preſent ſovereign the Emperor, no tax could be levied upon them, unleſs they had given their expreſs conſent to the impoſition of it. The governeſs, on the other hand, maintained, that as the ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand florins had been granted by the ſtates of Flanders, of which their repreſentatives were members, they were bound, of courſe, to conform to what was enacted by them, as it is the firſt principle in ſociety, on which the tranquillity and order of government depend, that the inclinations of the minority muſt be over-ruled by the judgment and deciſion of the ſuperior number.

Pretenſions of the citizens.

Proceedings againſt them.

THE citizens of Ghent, however, were not willing to relinquiſh a privilege of ſuch high importance as that which they claimed. Having been accuſtomed, under the government of the houſe of Burgundy, to enjoy extenſive immunities, and to be treated with much indulgence, they diſdained to ſacrifice to the delegated power of a regent, thoſe rights and liberties which they had often and ſucceſsfully aſſerted againſt their greateſt princes. The Queen, though ſhe endeavoured at firſt to ſooth them, and to reconcile them to their duty by various conceſſions, was at laſt ſo much irritated by the obſtinacy with which they adhered to their claim, that ſhe ordered all the citizens of Ghent, on whom ſhe could lay hold in any part of the Netherlands, to be arreſted. But this raſh action made an impreſſion, very different from what ſhe expected, on men, whoſe minds were agitated with all the violent paſſions which indignation at oppreſſion and zeal for liberty inſpire. Leſs affected with the danger of their friends and companions, than irritated at the governeſs, they openly deſpiſed her authority, and ſent deputies to the other towns of Flanders, conjuring them not to abandon their country at ſuch a juncture, but to concur with them in vindicating its rights againſt the encroachments of a woman, who either did not know or did not regard their immunities. All but a few inconſiderable towns declined entering into any confederacy againſt the governeſs; however, they joined

joined in petitioning her to put off the term for payment of the tax ſo long, that they might have it in their power to ſend ſome of their number into Spain, in order to lay their title to exemption before their ſovereign. This ſhe granted with ſome difficulty. But Charles received their commiſſioners with an haughtineſs to which they were not accuſtomed from their ancient Princes, and enjoining them to yield the ſame reſpectful obedience to his ſiſter, which they owed to him in perſon, remitted the examination of their claim to the council of Malines. This court, which is properly a ſtanding committee of the parliament or ſtates of the county, and which poſſeſſes the ſupreme juriſdiction in all matters civil as well as criminal *, pronounced the claim of the citizens of Ghent to be ill founded, and appointed them forthwith to pay the proportion of the tax. Book VI. 1539.

ENRAGED at this deciſion, which they conſidered as notoriouſly unjuſt, and rendered deſperate on ſeeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, the people of Ghent ran to arms in a tumultuary manner, drove ſuch of the nobility as reſided among them out of the city; ſecured ſeveral of the Emperor's officers; put one of them to the torture, whom they accuſed of having ſtolen or deſtroyed the record, that contained the privileges of exemption from taxes which they pleaded; choſe a council to whom they committed the direction of their affairs; gave orders for repairing and adding to their fortifications; and openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion againſt their ſovereign †. Senſible, however, of their inability to ſupport what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and deſirous of ſecuring a protector againſt the formidable forces by which they might expect ſoon to be attacked, they ſent ſome of their number to Francis, offering not only to acknowledge him as their ſovereign, and to put him in immediate poſſeſſion of Ghent, but to aſſiſt him with all their forces in recovering thoſe provinces in the Netherlands, which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and had been ſo lately re-united to it by the decree of the parliament of Paris. This unexpected propoſition coming from perſons They take arms, and offer to ſubmit to France.

* Deſcritione di tutti paeſi baſſi di Lud. Guicciardini. Ant. 1571. fol. p. 53.

† Memoires ſur la revolte de Gantois en 1539, par Jean d'Hollander, ecrit en 1547. A la Haye 1747. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xi. p. 262. Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. p. 283.

who

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who had it in their power to have performed instantly one part of what they undertook, and who could contribute so effectually towards the execution of the whole, opened vast as well as alluring prospects to Francis's ambition. The counties of Flanders and Artois were of greater value than the dutchy of Milan, which he had so long laboured to acquire with passionate but fruitless desire; their situation with respect to France rendered it more easy to conquer or to defend them; and they might be formed into a separate principality for the Duke of Orleans, no less suitable to his dignity than that which his father aimed at obtaining. From this, the Flemings, who were acquainted with the French manners and government, would not have been averse; and his own subjects, weary of their destructive expeditions into Italy, would have turned their arms towards this quarter with more good will, and with greater vigour. Several considerations, nevertheless, prevented Francis from laying hold of this opportunity, the most favourable in appearance which had ever presented itself, of extending his dominions, or distressing the Emperor. From the time of their interview at Aigues-mortes, Charles had continued to court the King of France with wonderful attention; and often flattered him with hopes of gratifying at last his wishes concerning the Milanese, by granting the investiture of it either to him or to one of his sons. But though these hopes and promises were thrown out with no other intention than to detach him from his confederacy with the grand Seignior, or to raise suspicions in Solyman's mind by the appearance of a cordial and familiar intercourse subsisting between the courts of Paris and Madrid, Francis was weak enough to catch at the shadow by which he had been so often deceived, and from eagerness to seize it, relinquished what must have proved a more substantial acquisition. Besides this, the Dauphin, jealous to excess of his brother, and unwilling that a Prince who seemed to be of a restless and enterprising nature should obtain an establishment, which from its situation might be considered almost as a domestic one, made use of Montmorency, who by a singular piece of good fortune, was at the same time the favourite of the father and of the son, to defeat the application of the Flemings, and to divert the King from espousing their cause. Montmorency represented accordingly the reputation and power which Francis would acquire by recovering that footing which he had formerly in Italy, and

Francis declines their offer.

that

that nothing could be so efficacious to overcome the Emperor's aversion to this, as his adhering sacredly to the truce, and refusing on this occasion to countenance his rebellious subjects. Francis, apt of himself to over-rate the value of the Milanese, because he estimated it from the length of time as well as from the great efforts which he had employed in order to re-conquer it, and fond of every action which had the appearance of generosity, assented without difficulty to sentiments so agreeable to his own, rejected the propositions of the citizens of Ghent, and dismissed their deputies with an harsh answer *.

Communicates their intentions to the Emperor.

Not satisfied with this, by a farther refinement in generosity, he communicated to the Emperor his whole negotiation with the malecontents, and all that he knew of their schemes and intentions †. This convincing proof of Francis's disinterestedness relieved Charles from the most disquieting apprehensions, and opened a way to extricate himself out of all difficulties. He had already received full information of all the transactions in the Netherlands, and of the rage with which the people of Ghent had taken arms against his government. He was thoroughly acquainted with the genius and qualities of his subjects in that country; with their love of liberty; their attachment to their ancient privileges and customs; as well as the invincible obstinacy with which their minds, slow but firm and persevering, adhered to any measure on which they had leisure to fix. He easily saw what encouragement and support they would have derived from the assistance of France; though now free from any danger on that quarter, he was still sensible that some immediate and vigorous interposition was necessary in order to prevent the spirit of disaffection and rebellion from spreading in a country where the number of cities, the multitude of people, together with the great wealth diffused among them by commerce, rendered it peculiarly formidable, and would supply it with inexhaustible resources.

Charles's deliberations concerning his journey to the Netherlands.

No expedient, after long deliberation, appeared to him so effectual as his going in person to the Netherlands; and the governess his sister being of the same opinion, warmly solicited him to undertake the journey. There were only two different routs which he could take; one by land through Italy and Germany, the other, entirely by sea,

* Mem. de Bellay, p. 263. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. xi. 263.
† Sandov. Histor. tom. ii. 284.

from

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from ſome port in Spain to one in the Low-Countries. But the former was more tedious than ſuited the preſent exigency of his affairs; nor could he in conſiſtency with his dignity or even his ſafety paſs through Germany without ſuch a train both of attendants and of troops, as would have added greatly to the time that he muſt have conſumed in his journey; the latter was dangerous at this ſeaſon, and not to be ventured upon, while he was on bad terms with the King of England, unleſs under the convoy of a powerful fleet. This perplexing ſituation, in which he was under a neceſſity of chooſing, and did not know what to chooſe, inſpired him at laſt with the ſingular and ſeemingly extravagant thought of paſſing through France, as the moſt expeditious way of reaching the Netherlands. He propoſed in his council to demand Francis's permiſſion for that purpoſe. All his counſellors joined with one voice in condemning the meaſure as no leſs raſh than unprecedented, and which muſt infallibly expoſe him to diſgrace or to danger; to diſgrace, if the demand were rejected in the manner that he had reaſon to expect; to danger, if he put his perſon in the power of an enemy whom he had often offended, who had ancient injuries to revenge, as well as ſubjects of preſent conteſt ſtill remaining undecided. But Charles who had ſtudied the character of his rival with greater care, and more profound diſcernment than any of his miniſters, perſiſted in his plan, and flattered himſelf that it might be accompliſhed not only without danger to his own perſon, but even without the expence of any conceſſion detrimental to his crown.

Propoſes to paſs thro' France.

With this view he communicated the matter to the French ambaſſador at his court, and ſent Granville his chief miniſter to Paris, in order to obtain from Francis permiſſion to paſs through his dominions, and to promiſe that he would ſoon ſettle the affair of the Milaneſe to his ſatisfaction; but at the ſame time to intreat that he would not exact any new promiſe, or even inſiſt on former engagements, at this juncture, leſt whatever he ſhould grant, under his preſent circumſtances, might ſeem rather to be extorted by neceſſity, than to flow from friendſhip or the love of juſtice. Francis, inſtead of attending to the ſnare which ſuch a ſlight artifice ſcarce concealed, was ſo dazzled with the ſplendour of overcoming an enemy by acts of generoſity, and ſo pleaſed with the air of ſuperiority, which the rectitude and diſintereſtedneſs of his proceedings gave him on this occaſion, that he at once aſſented to all

To which Francis conſents.

that

that was demanded. Judging of the Emperor's heart by his own, he imagined that the ſentiments of gratitude, ariſing from the remembrance of good offices and liberal treatment, would determine him more forcibly to fulfill what he had ſo often promiſed, than the moſt preciſe ſtipulations that could be inſerted in any treaty.

His reception in that kingdom.

UPON this, Charles, to whom every moment was precious, ſet out, notwithſtanding the fears and ſuſpicions of his Spaniſh ſubjects, with a ſmall but ſplendid train of an hundred perſons. At Bayonne, on the frontiers of France, he was received by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, attended by the conſtable Montmorency. The two Princes offered to go into Spain, and to remain there as hoſtages for the Emperor's ſafety; but this he rejected, declaring, that he relied with implicit confidence on the King's honour, and had never demanded, nor would accept of any other pledge for his ſecurity. In all the towns through which he paſſed, the greateſt poſſible magnificence was diſplayed; the magiſtrates preſented him the keys of the gates; the priſon doors were ſet open; and by the royal honours paid to him, he appeared more like the ſovereign of the country, than a ſtranger. The king advanced as far as Chatelherault to meet him; their interview was diſtinguiſhed by the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. They proceeded together towards Paris, and preſented to the inhabitants of that city, the extraordinary ſpectacle of two rival Monarchs, whoſe enmity had diſturbed and laid waſte Europe, during twenty years, making their ſolemn entry together, with all the ſymptoms of confidence and harmony, as if they had forgotten, for ever, paſt injuries, and would never revive hoſtilities for the future *.

The Emperor's ſolicitude.

CHARLES remained ſix days at Paris; but amidſt the perpetual careſſes of the French court, and the various entertainments contrived to amuſe or to do him honour, he diſcovered an extreme impatience to continue his journey, ariſing as much from an apprehenſion of danger which conſtantly oppreſſed him, as from the neceſſity of his preſence in the Low-Countries. Conſcious of the diſingenuity of his own intentions, he trembled when he reflected, that ſome fatal accident might betray them to his rival, or lead him to ſuſpect them; and tho' his

* Thuan. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 14. Mem. de Bellay, 264.

artifices

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artifices to conceal theſe ſhould be ſucceſsful, he could not help fearing that motives of intereſt, might at laſt triumph over the ſcruples of honour, and tempt Francis to avail himſelf of the advantage now in his hands. Nor were there wanting perſons among the French miniſters, who adviſed the King to turn his own arts againſt the Emperor, and as the retribution due for ſo many inſtances of fraud or falſehood, to ſeize and detain his perſon, till he granted him full ſatisfaction with regard to all the juſt claims of the French crown. But no conſideration could induce Francis to violate the faith which he had pledged, nor could any argument convince him, that Charles, after all the promiſes that he had given, and all the favours which he had received, might ſtill be capable of deceiving him. Full of this falſe confidence, he accompanied him to St. Quintin, and the two Princes, who had met him on the borders of Spain, did not take leave of him, until he entered his dominions in the Low-Countries.

and diſingenuity. January 24. 1540.

As ſoon as the Emperor reached his own territories, the French ambaſſadors demanded the accompliſhment of what he had promiſed, concerning the inveſtiture of Milan, but Charles, under the plauſible pretext, that his whole attention was then engroſſed by the conſultations neceſſary towards ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Ghent, put off the matter for ſome time. But in order to prevent Francis from ſuſpecting his ſincerity, he ſtill continued to talk of his reſolutions with reſpect to that matter, in the ſame ſtrain as when he entered France, and even wrote to the King much to the ſame purpoſe, though in general terms, and with equivocal expreſſions, which he might afterwards explain away or interpret at pleaſure *.

Reduction of Ghent.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate citizens of Ghent, deſtitute of leaders capable either of directing their councils, or conducting their troops; abandoned by the French King, and unſupported by their countrymen; were unable to reſiſt their offended ſovereign, who was ready to advance againſt them with one body of troops, which he had raiſed in the Netherlands, with another drawn out of Germany, and a third which had arrived from Spain by ſea. The near approach of danger made them, at laſt, ſo ſenſible of their own folly, that they ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor imploring his mercy,

* Memoires de Ribier, i. 504.

and

and offering to ſet open their gates at his approach. Charles without vouchſafing them any other anſwer, than that he would appear among them as their ſovereign, with the ſceptre and the ſword in his hand, began his march at the head of his troops. Though he choſe to enter the city on the twenty-fourth of February, his birth day, he was touched with nothing of that tenderneſs or indulgence which was natural towards the place of his nativity. Twenty-ſix of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number was ſent into baniſhment: the city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiſcated; its ancient form of government was aboliſhed; the nomination of its magiſtrates was veſted for the future in the Emperor and his ſucceſſors; a new ſyſtem of laws and political adminiſtration was preſcribed *, and in order to bridle the ſeditious ſpirit of the citizens a ſtrong citadel was appointed to be erected, for defraying the expence of which a fine of an hundred and fifty thouſand florins was impoſed on the inhabitants, together with an annual tax of ſix thouſand florins for the ſupport of a garriſon †. By theſe rigorous proceedings, Charles not only puniſhed the citizens of Ghent, but ſet an awful example of ſeverity before his other ſubjects in the Netherlands, whoſe immunities and privileges, partly the effect, partly the cauſe of their extenſive commerce, circumſcribed the royal prerogative within very narrow bounds, and often ſtood in the way of meaſures which he wiſhed to undertake, or fettered and retarded him in his operations.

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and puniſhment of the citizens. April 20.

Charles refuſes to fulfill his engagements to Francis.

Charles having thus vindicated and re-eſtabliſhed his authority in the Low-Countries, and being now under no neceſſity of continuing the ſame ſcene of falſehood and diſſimulation with which he had long amuſed Francis, began gradually to throw aſide the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with reſpect to the Milaneſe. At firſt he eluded the demands of the French ambaſſadors when they again reminded him of his promiſes; then he propoſed, by way of equivalent for the dutchy of Milan, to grant the Duke of Orleans the inveſtiture of Flanders, clogging the offer, however, with impracticable conditi-

* Les coutumes & loix du Compte de Flandre, par Alex. le Grande, 3 tom. fol. Cambray, 1719, tom. i. p. 169.

† Hareei Annales Brabantiæ, vol. i. 616.

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ons, or such as he knew would be rejected *. At last, being driven from all his evasions and subterfuges by their insisting for a categorical answer, he peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy by diminishing his own power †. He denied at the same time, that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish, and so contrary to his own interest ‡.

Of all the actions in the Emperor's life, this, without doubt, reflects the greatest dishonour on his reputation §. Tho' Charles was not extremely scrupulous at other times about the means which he employed for accomplishing his ends, or always observant of the strict precepts of veracity and honour, he had hitherto maintained some regard for the maxims of that less precise and rigid morality by which monarchs think themselves entitled to regulate their conduct. But, on this occasion, the scheme that he formed of deceiving a generous and open-hearted Prince; the illiberal and mean artifices by which he carried it on; the insensibility with which he received all the marks of his friendship, and the ingratitude with which he requited them; are all equally unbecoming the dignity of his character, and inconsistent with the grandeur of his views.

This transaction exposed Francis to as much scorn as it did the Emperor to censure. After the experience of a long reign, after so many opportunities of discovering the duplicity and artifices of his rival, the credulous simplicity with which he trusted him at this juncture seemed to merit no other return than it actually met with. Francis, however, remonstrated and exclaimed, as if this had been the first instance in which the Emperor had deceived him. Feeling, as is usual, the insult which was offered to his understanding still more sensibly than the injury done to his interest, he discovered such resentment as made it obvious that he would lay hold on the first opportunity of being revenged, and that a war, no less rancorous than that which had so lately raged, would soon break out anew in Europe.

The Pope authorizes the institution of the Order of Jesuits.

This year is rendered memorable by the establishment of the order of Jesuits; a body whose influence on eccle-

* Mem. de Ribier, i. 509, 514. † Ribier, i. 519.
‡ Bellay, 365-6. § Jovii Hist. lib. xxxix. p. 238. a.

siastical

siastical as well as civil affairs hath been so considerable, that an account of the genius of its laws and government justly merits a place in history. When men take a view of the rapid progress of this society towards wealth and power; when they contemplate the admirable prudence with which it has been governed; when they attend to the persevering and systematick spirit with which its schemes have been carried on; they are apt to ascribe such a singular institution to the superior wisdom of its founder, and to suppose that he had formed and digested his plan with profound policy. But the Jesuits, as well as the other monastic orders, are indebted for the existence of their order not to the wisdom of their founder, but to his enthusiasm. Ignatio Loyola, whom I have already mentioned on occasion of the wound which he received in defending Pampeluna *, was a fanatick distinguished by extravagancies in sentiment and conduct, no less incompatible with the maxims of sober reason, than repugnant to the spirit of true religion. The wild adventures, and visionary schemes, in which his enthusiasm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romish saints; but unworthy of notice in history.

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Fanaticism of Loyola its founder.

Prompted by this fanatical spirit, or incited by the love of power and distinction, from which such pretenders to superior sanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan which he formed of its constitution and laws, was suggested, as he gave out, and his followers still teach, by the immediate inspiration of heaven †. But notwithstanding this high pretension, his design met at first with violent opposition. The Pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the sanction of his authority to confirm the institution, referred his petition to a committee of Cardinals. They represented the establishment to be unnecessary as well as dangerous, and Paul refused to grant his approbation of it. At last, Loyola removed all his scruples by an offer which it was impossible for any Pope to resist. He proposed that besides the three vows of poverty, of chastity, and of monastic obedience, which are common to all monastic orders, the members of his society should take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, binding themselves to go whithersoever he should com-

The Pope's motives for confirming the order.

* Book ii. p. 132.

† Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jesuites, au Parlement de Provence, par M. de Monclar. p. 285.

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mand for the service of religion, and without requiring any thing from the Holy See for their support. At a time when the papal authority had received such a shock by the revolt of so many nations from the Romish church; at a time when every part of the popish system was attacked with so much violence and success, the acquisition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the See of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was an object of the highest consequence. Paul, instantly perceived this, confirmed the institution of the Jesuits by his bull; granted the most ample privileges to the members of the society; and appointed Loyola to be the first General of the order. The event had fully justified Paul's discernment in expecting such beneficial consequences to the See of Rome from this institution. In less than half a century, the society obtained establishments in every country that adhered to the Roman catholic church; its power and wealth increased amazingly; the number of its members became great; their character and accomplishments were still greater; and the Jesuits were celebrated by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of the Romish faith, as the most able and enterprising order in the church.

Sept. 27.

Its constitution and genius merit particular attention.

The constitution and laws of the society were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who succeeded Loyola, men far superior to their master in abilities, and in the science of government. They framed that system of profound and artful policy which distinguished the order. The large infusion of fanaticism, mingled with its regulations, should be imputed to Loyola its founder. Many circumstances concurred in giving a peculiarity of character to the order of Jesuits, and in forming the members of it not only to take greater part in the affairs of the world than any other body of monks, but to acquire superior influence in the conduct of them.

The object of the order singular.

The primary object of almost all the monastic orders is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs. In the solitude and silence of the cloister, the monk is called to work out his own salvation by extraordinary acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to the world, and ought not to mingle in its transactions. He can be of no benefit to mankind, but by his example and by his prayers. On the contrary, the Jesuits are taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They are

choſen ſoldiers, bound to exert themſelves continually in the ſervice of God, and of the Pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to inſtruct the ignorant; whatever can be of uſe to reclaim or to oppoſe the enemies of the Holy See, is their proper object. That they may have full leiſure for this active ſervice, they are totally exempted from thoſe functions, the performance of which is the chief buſineſs of other monks. They appear in no proceſſions; they practiſe no rigorous auſterities; they do not conſume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices *. But they are required to attend to all the tranſactions of the world, on account of the influence which theſe may have on religion; they are directed to ſtudy the diſpoſitions of perſons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendſhip †; and by the very conſtitution as well as genius of the order, a ſpirit of action and intrigue is infuſed into all its members.

Peculiarities in the form of its policy, particularly with reſpect to the power of the general.

As the object of the ſociety of Jeſuits differed from that of the other monaſtic orders, the diverſity was no leſs in the form of its government. The other orders are to be conſidered as voluntary aſſociations, in which whatever affects the whole body, is regulated by the common ſuffrage of all its members. The executive power is veſted in the perſons placed at the head of each convent, or of the whole ſociety; the legiſlative authority reſides in the community. Affairs of moment, relating to particular convents, are determined in conventual chapters; ſuch as reſpect the whole order are conſidered in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the ideas of implicit obedience, which he had derived from his military profeſſion, appointed that the government of his order ſhould be purely monarchical. A General, choſen for life by the deputies from the ſeveral provinces, poſſeſſed power that was ſupreme and independent, extending to every perſon, and to every caſe. He, by his ſole authority nominated provincials, rectors, and every other officer employed in the government of the ſociety, and could remove them at pleaſure. In him was veſted the ſovereign adminiſtration of the revenues and funds of the order. Every member belonging to it was at his diſpoſal; and by his uncontrolable mandate, he could impoſe on them any taſk, or employ them in what

* Compte Rendu, par M. de Monclar. p. 13, 290. Sur la deſtruct. des Jeſuites, par M. D'Alembert, p. 42.

† Compte par M. de Monclar. p. 12.

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ſervice ſoever he pleaſed. To his commands they were required to yield not only outward obedience, but to reſign up to him the inclinations of their own wills, and the ſentiments of their own underſtandings. They were to liſten to his injunctions, as if they had been uttered by Chriſt himſelf. Under his direction, they were to be mere paſſive inſtruments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or like dead carcaſes incapable of reſiſtance *. Such a ſingular form of policy could not fail to impreſs its character on all the members of the order, and to give a peculiar force to all its operations. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of ſuch a perfect deſpotiſm, exerciſed not over monks ſhut up in the cells of a convent, but over men diſperſed among all the nations of the earth.

Circumſtances which enable him to exerciſe it with the greateſt advantage.

As the conſtitutions of the order veſt, in the General, ſuch abſolute dominion over all its members, they carefully provide for his being perfectly informed with reſpect to the character and abilities of his ſubjects. Every novice who offers himſelf as a candidate for entering into the order, is obliged to *manifeſt his conſcience* to the ſuperior, or to a perſon appointed by him; and is required to confeſs not only his ſins and defects, but to diſcover the inclinations, the paſſions, and the bent of his ſoul. This manifeſtation muſt be renewed every ſix months †. The ſociety not ſatisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermoſt receſſes of the heart, directs each member to obſerve the words and actions of the novices; they are conſtituted ſpies upon their conduct; and are bound to diſcloſe every thing of importance concerning them to the ſuperior. In order that this ſcrutiny into their character may be as compleat as poſſible, a long noviciate muſt expire, during which they paſs through the ſeveral gradations of ranks in the ſociety, and they muſt have attained the full age of thirty three years, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become *profeſſed* members ‡. By theſe various methods, the ſuperiors, under whoſe immediate inſpection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their diſpoſitions and talents. In order that the General,

* Compte rendu au Parlem. de Bretagne, par M. de Chalotais, p. 41, &c. Compte par M. de Monclar. 83, 185, 334.

† Compte par M. de Monclar. p. 121, &c.

‡ Compte par M. de Monclar. 215, 241. Sur la deſt. des Jeſ. par M. D'Alemb. p. 39.

who

who is the ſoul that animates and moves the whole ſociety, may have under his eye every thing neceſſary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the ſeveral houſes are obliged to tranſmit to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inſpection. In theſe they deſcend into minute details with reſpect to the character of each perſon, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he is beſt fitted *. Theſe reports, when digeſted and arranged, are entered into regiſters, kept of purpoſe that the General may, at one comprehenſive view, ſurvey the ſtate of the ſociety in every corner of the earth; obſerve the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus chooſe, with perfect information, the inſtruments, which his abſolute power can employ in any ſervice for which he thinks meet to deſtine them †.

Progreſs of the power and influence of the order.

As it was the profeſſed intention of the order of Jeſuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the ſalvation of men, this engaged them, of courſe, in many active functions. From their firſt inſtitution, they conſidered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being ſpiritual guides and confeſſors; they preached frequently in order to inſtruct the people; they ſet out as miſſionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the inſtitution, as well as the ſingularity of its objects, procured the Order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the ſociety had the addreſs

* M. de Chalotais has made a calculation of the number of theſe reports, which the general of the Jeſuits muſt annually receive according to the regulations of the ſociety. Theſe amount in all to 6584. If this ſum be divided by 37, the number of provinces in the order, it appears that 177 reports concerning the ſtate of each province are tranſmitted to Rome annually. Compte, p. 52. Beſides this, there may be extraordinary letters, or ſuch as are ſent by the monitors or ſpies which the general and provincials entertain in each houſe. Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 431. Hiſt. des Jeſuites, Amſt. 1761, tom. iv. p. 56. The provincials and heads of houſes not only report concerning the members of the ſociety, but are bound to give the general an account of the civil affairs of the country wherein they are ſettled, in ſo far as the knowledge of theſe may be of benefit to religion. This condition may extend to every particular, ſo that the general is furniſhed with full information concerning the tranſactions of every Prince and ſtate in the world. Compte par M. de Moncl. 443. Hiſt. des Jeſuit. ibid. p. 58. When the affairs with reſpect to which the provincials or rectors write are of importance, they are directed to uſe cyphers, and each of them has a particular cypher from the General. Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 54.

† Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 215, 439.—Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 52, 222.

Book VI. to avail themſelves of every circumſtance in its favour, and in a ſhort time, the number as well as influence of its members increaſed wonderfully. Before the expiration of the ſixteenth century, the Jeſuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholic country in Europe. They had become the confeſſors of almoſt all its monarchs, a function of no ſmall importance in any reign, but under a weak Prince, ſuperior even to that of miniſter. They were the ſpiritual guides of almoſt every perſon eminent for rank or power. They poſſeſſed the higheſt degree of confidence and intereſt with the papal court, as the moſt zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterprizing body of men might derive from all theſe circumſtances are obvious. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an aſcendant over them in their advanced years. They poſſeſſed, at different periods, the direction of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The General, by means of the extenſive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the moſt perfect diſcernment; and by means of his abſolute power could carry them on with the utmoſt vigour and effect *.

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Progreſs of its wealth.

TOGETHER with the power of the order, its wealth continued to increaſe. Various expedients were deviſed for eluding the obligation of the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample poſſeſſions in ever catholic country; and by the number as well as magnificence of its publick buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the moſt opulent of the monaſtick fraternities. Beſides the ſources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the Jeſuits poſſeſſed one which was peculiar to themſelves. Under pretext of promoting the ſucceſs of their miſſions, and of facilitating the ſupport of their miſſionaries, they obtained a ſpecial licenſe from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which

* When Loyola in the year 1540 petitioned the Pope to authorize the inſtitution of the order, he had only ten diſciples. But in the year 1608, ſixty eight years after their firſt inſtitution, the number of Jeſuits had increaſed to ten thouſand five hundred and eighty one. In the year 1710, the order poſſeſſed twenty-four *profeſſed* houſes; fifty-nine houſes of probation; three hundred and forty reſidences; ſix hundred and twelve colleges; two hundred miſſions; one hundred and fifty ſeminaries and boarding ſchools; and conſiſted of 19,998 Jeſuits. Hiſt. des Jeſuites, tom. i. p. 20.

they

they laboured to convert. In consequence of this, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies. They opened ware-houses in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They acquired possession accordingly of a large and fertile province in the southern continent of America, and reigned as sovereigns over some hundred thousand subjects *.

Pernicious effects of these on civil society.

Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence which the order of Jesuits acquired by all these different means, has been often exerted with the most pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that discipline observed by the society in forming its members, and such the fundamental maxims in its constitution, that every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the order, as the capital object, to which every consideration was to be sacrificed. This spirit of attachment to their order the most ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men †, is the characteristic principle of the Jesuits, and serves as a key to the genius of their policy, and to the peculiarities in their sentiments and conduct.

As it was for the honour and advantage of the society, that its members should possess an ascendant over persons in high rank or of great power, the desire of acquiring and preserving such a direction of their conduct, with greater facility, has led the Jesuits to propagate a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itself to the passions of men, which justifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almost every action that the most audacious or crafty politician would wish to perpetrate.

As the prosperity of the order was intimately connected with the preservation of the papal authority, the Jesuits, influenced by the same principle of attachment to the interests of their society, have been the most zealous patrons of those doctrines which tend to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a jurisdiction as extensive and absolute as was claimed by the most presumptuous pontiffs in the dark ages. They have contended for the entire inde-

* Hist. des Jes. iv. 168—196, &c.

† Compte par M. de Monclar. p. 285.

pendence

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pendence of eccleſiaſticks on the civil magiſtrate. They have publiſhed ſuch tenets concerning the duty of oppoſing Princes who were enemies of the catholick faith, as countenanced the moſt atrocious crimes, and tended to diſſolve all the ties which connect ſubjects with their rulers.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it ſtood forth in defence of the Romiſh church againſt the attacks of the reformers, its members, proud of this diſtinction, have conſidered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progreſs of the Proteſtants. They have made uſe of every art, and have employed every weapon againſt them. They have ſet themſelves in oppoſition to every gentle or tolerating meaſure in their favour. They have inceſſantly ſtirred up againſt them all the rage of eccleſiaſtical and civil perſecution.

Monks of other denominations have, indeed, ventured to teach the ſame pernicious doctrines, and have held opinions equally inconſiſtent with the order and happineſs of civil ſociety. But they, from reaſons which are obvious, have either delivered ſuch opinions with greater reſerve, or have propagated them with leſs ſucceſs. Whoever recollects the events which have happened in Europe during two centuries, will find that the Jeſuits may juſtly be conſidered as reſponſible for moſt of the pernicious effects ariſing from that corrupt and dangerous caſuiſtry, from thoſe extravagant tenets concerning eccleſiaſtical power, and from that intolerant ſpirit, which have been the diſgrace of the church of Rome throughout that period, and which have brought ſo many calamities upon civil ſociety *.

Some advantages reſulting from the inſtitution of this order.

But amidſt many bad conſequences flowing from the inſtitution of this order, mankind, it muſt be acknowledged, have derived from it ſome conſiderable advantages. As the Jeſuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their firſt attempts to eſtabliſh colleges for the reception of ſtudents were violently oppoſed by the univerſities in different countries, it became neceſſary for them, as the moſt effectual method of acquiring the publick favour, to ſurpaſs their rivals in ſcience and induſtry. This prompted them to cultivate with great ardour the ſtudy of ancient literature. This

Particularly to literature.

* Encyclopedie, Art. *Jeſuites*, tom. viii. 513.

put

put them upon various methods for facilitating the instruction of youth; and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed not a little towards the progress of polite learning, and have on this account merited well of society. Nor has the order of Jesuits been successful only in teaching the elements of literature, it has produced likewise eminent masters in many branches of science, and can alone boast of a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together *.

More especially from the settlement of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

But it is in the new world that the Jesuits have exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and have contributed most effectually to the benefit of the human species. The conquerors of that unfortunate quarter of the globe had nothing in view but to plunder, to enslave, and to exterminate its inhabitants. The Jesuits alone have made humanity the object of their settling there. About the beginning of the last century they obtained admission into the fertile province of Paraguay, which stretches across the southern continent of America, from the bottom of the Mountains of Potosi to the confines of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the banks of the river de la Plata: they found the inhabitants in a state little different from that which takes place among men when they first begin to unite together; strangers to the arts; subsisting precariously by hunting or fishing; and scarce acquainted with the first principles of subordination and government. The Jesuits set themselves to instruct and to civilise these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to

† M. d'Alembert has observed, that though the Jesuits have made extraordinary progress in erudition of every species; though they can reckon up many of their brethren who have been eminent mathematicians, antiquarians, and criticks; though they have even formed some orators of reputation; yet the order has never produced one man, whose mind was so much enlightened with sound knowledge, as to merit the name of a philosopher. But it seems to be the unavoidable effect of monastick education to contract and fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the interest of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other citizens; the habit of implicit obedience to the will of a superior, together with the frequent return of the wearisome and frivolous duties of the cloister, debase his faculties, and extinguish that generosity of sentiment and spirit, which qualifies men for thinking or feeling justly with respect to what is proper in life and conduct. Father Paul of Venice is, perhaps, the only person educated in a cloister, that ever was altogether superior to its prejudices, or who viewed the transactions of men, and reasoned concerning the interests of society, with the enlarged sentiments of a philosopher, with the discernment of a man conversant in affairs, and with the liberality of a gentleman.

build

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build houſes. They brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taſte the ſweets of ſociety; and accuſtomed them to the bleſſings of ſecurity and order. Theſe people became the ſubjects of their benefactors; who have governed them with a tender attention, reſembling that, with which a father directs his children. Reſpected and beloved almoſt to adoration, a few Jeſuits preſided over ſome hundred thouſand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour not for himſelf alone, but for the public. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits of their induſtry of every ſpecies, were depoſited in common ſtorehouſes, from which each individual received every thing neceſſary for the ſupply of his wants. By this inſtitution, almoſt all the paſſions which diſturb the peace of ſociety, and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguiſhed. A few magiſtrates, choſen by the Indians themſelves, watched over the publick tranquillity, and ſecured obedience to the laws. The ſanguinary puniſhments frequent under other governments were unknown. An admonition from a Jeſuit; a ſlight mark of infamy; or, on ſome ſingular occaſion, a few laſhes with a whip, were ſufficient to maintain good order among theſe innocent and happy people *.

Even here the ambition and policy of the order diſcernible.

But even in this meritorious effort of the Jeſuits for the good of mankind, the genius and ſpirit of their order have mingled and are diſcernible. They plainly aimed at eſtabliſhing in Paraguay and independent empire, ſubject to the ſociety alone, and which, by the ſuperior excellence of its conſtitution and police, could ſcarce have failed to extend its dominion over all the ſouthern continent of America. With this view, in order to prevent the Spaniards or Portugueſe in the adjacent ſettlements, from acquiring any influence over the people whom they governed that might be dangerous, the Jeſuits endeavoured to inſpire the Indians with hatred and contempt of theſe nations. They cut off all intercourſe between their ſubjects and the Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſettlements. They prohibited any private trader of either nation from enter-

* Hiſt. de Paraguay par Pere de Charlevoix, tom. ii. 42, &c. Voyage au Perou par Don G. Juan & D. Ant. de Ulloa, tom. i. 540, &c. Par. 4to. 1752.

ing

ing their territories. When they were obliged to admit any perſon in a public character from the neighbouring governments, they did not permit him to have any converſation with their ſubjects, and no Indian was allowed even to enter the houſe where theſe ſtrangers reſided, unleſs in the preſence of a Jeſuit. In order to render any communication between them as difficult as poſſible, they induſtriouſly avoided giving the Indians any knowledge of the Spaniſh or any other European language; but encouraged the different tribes, which they had civilized, to acquire a certain dialect of the Indian tongue, and laboured to make that the univerſal language throughout their dominions. As all theſe precautions, without military force, would have been inſufficient to have rendered their empire ſecure and permanent, they inſtructed their ſubjects in the European arts of war. They formed them into bodies of cavalry and infantry, completely armed and regularly diſciplined. They provided a great train of artillery, as well as magazines ſtored with all the implements of war. Thus they eſtabliſhed an army ſo numerous and well appointed, as to be formidable in a country, where a few ſickly and ill-diſciplined battalions compoſed all the military force kept on foot by the Spaniards or Portugueſe *.

Reaſon for giving ſo full a view of the government and progreſs of the order.

THE Jeſuits gained no conſiderable degree of power during the reign of Charles V. who, with his uſual ſagacity, diſcerned the dangerous tendency of the inſtitution and checked its progreſs †. But as the order was founded in the period of which I write the hiſtory, and as the age to which I addreſs this work hath ſeen its fall, the view which I have exhibited of the laws and genius of this formidable body will not, I hope, be unacceptable to my readers; eſpecially as one circumſtance has enabled me to enter into this detail with particular advantage. Europe had obſerved, for two centuries, the ambition and power of the order. But while it felt many fatal effects of theſe, it could not fully diſcern the cauſes to which they were to be imputed. It was unacquainted with many of the ſingular regulations in the political conſtitution or government of the Jeſuits, which formed that ſpirit of intrigue and enterprize which diſtinguiſhed its members, and ele-

* Voyage de Juan & de Ulloa, tom. i. 549. Recueil des toutes les Pieces qui ont paru ſur les Affaires des Jeſuites en Portugal, tom. i. p. 7, &c.

† Compte par M. de Monclar, p. 312.

vated

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vated the body itſelf to ſuch a height of power. It was a favourite maxim with the Jeſuits, from their firſt inſtitution, not to publiſh the rules of their order. Theſe they kept concealed as an impenetrable myſtery. They never communicated them to ſtrangers; nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refuſed to produce them when required by courts of juſtice *; and by a ſtrange ſoleciſm in policy, the civil power in different countries authorized or connived at the eſtabliſhment of an order of men, whoſe conſtitution and laws were concealed with a ſolicitude, which alone was a good reaſon for having excluded them. During the proſecutions lately carried on againſt them in Portugal and France, the Jeſuits have been ſo inconſiderate as to produce the myſterious volumes of their inſtitute. By the aid of theſe authentic records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the ſources of their power inveſtigated with a degree of certainty and preciſion, which, previous to that event, it was impoſſible to attain †. But as I have pointed out the dangerous tendency of the conſtitution and ſpirit of the order with the freedom becoming an hiſtorian, the candour and impartiality no leſs requiſite in that character call on me to add one obſervation, That no claſs of regular clergy in the Romiſh church has been more eminent for decency, and even purity of manners, than the major part of the order of Jeſuits ‡. The maxims of an intriguing, ambitious, intereſted policy, might influence thoſe who governed the ſociety, and might even corrupt the heart, and pervert the conduct of ſome individuals, while the greater number, engaged in literary purſuits, or employed in the functions of religion, was left to the guidance of thoſe common principles which reſtrain men from vice, and excite them to what is becoming and laudable. The cauſes which occaſioned the ruin of this mighty body, as well as the circumſtances and ef-

* Hiſt. des Jeſ. tom. iii. 236, &c. Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 38.

† The greater part of my information concerning the government and laws of the order of Jeſuits, I have derived from the reports of M. de Chalotais and M. de Monclar. I reſt not, however, upon the authority even of theſe reſpectable magiſtrates, and elegant writers, but upon innumerable paſſages which they have extracted from the conſtitutions of the order, depoſited in their hands. Hoſpinian, a Proteſtant divine of Zurich, in his *Hiſtoria Jeſuitica*, printed A. D. 1619, publiſhed a ſmall part of the conſtitutions of the Jeſuits, of which by ſome accident he had got a copy; p. 13—54.

‡ Sur la deſtruct. des Jeſ. par M. D'Alembert, p. 55.

fects

fects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, though objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent obſerver of human affairs, do not fall within the period of this hiſtory. 1540.

Affairs of Germany.

No ſooner had Charles re-eſtabliſhed order in the Low-Countries, than he was obliged to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany. The Proteſtants preſſed him earneſtly to appoint that conference between a ſelect number of the divines of each party, which had been ſtipulated in the convention at Francfort. The Pope, conſidering ſuch an attempt to examine or decide the points in diſpute as derogatory to his right of being the ſupreme judge in controverſy, and perſuaded that it would either be ineffectual by determining nothing, or prove dangerous by determining too much, employed every art to prevent the meeting. The Emperor, however, finding it more for his intereſt to ſooth the Germans, than to gratify Paul, paid little regard to his remonſtrances. In a diet held at Haguenaw, matters were ripened for the conference. In another diet aſſembled at Worms, the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one ſide, and Eckius on the other, ſuſtaining the principal part in the diſpute; but after they had made ſome progreſs, though without concluding any thing, it was ſuſpended by the Emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater ſolemnity in his own preſence in a diet ſummoned to meet at Ratiſbon. This aſſembly was opened with great pomp, and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous and deciſive. By the conſent of both parties, the Emperor was entruſted with the power of nominating the perſons who ſhould manage the conference, which it was agreed ſhould be conducted not in the form of a public diſputation, but as a friendly ſcrutiny or examination into the articles which had given riſe to the preſent controverſies. He appointed Eckius, Gropper and Pflug, on the part of the Catholics, and Melancthon, Bucer and Piſtorius, on that of the Proteſtants, all men of diſtinguiſhed reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eckius, all eminent for their moderation, as well as deſirous of peace. As they were about to begin their conſultations, the Emperor put into their hands a book, compoſed, as he ſaid, by a learned divine in the Low-Countries, with ſuch extraordinary perſpicuity and temper, as might go far, in his opinion, to unite and comprehend the two contending parties. Gropper,

A conference between the Popiſh and Proteſtant divines. June 25. Dec. 6. 1541.

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per, a canon of Cologne, whom he had named among the managers of the conference, a man of addreſs as well as of erudition, was afterward ſuſpected to be the author of this ſhort treatiſe. It contained poſitions with regard to twenty-two of the chief articles in theology, which included moſt of the queſtions then agitated in the controverſy between the Lutherans and the church of Rome. By ranging his ſentiments in a natural order, and expreſſing them with great ſimplicity; by employing often the very words of ſcripture, or of the primitive fathers; by ſoftening the rigour of ſome opinions, and explaining away what was abſurd in others; by conceſſions, now on one ſide, and now on the other; and eſpecially by baniſhing as much as poſſible ſcholaſtic phraſes, thoſe words and terms of art in controverſy, which ſerve as badges of diſtinction to the different ſects, and for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themſelves; he framed his work in ſuch a manner, as promiſed fairer than any thing that had hitherto been attempted, to compoſe and to terminate religious diſſenſions *.

Fruitleſs.

But the attention of the age was turned, with ſuch acute obſervation, towards theological controverſies, that it was not eaſy to impoſe on it by any gloſs how artful or ſpecious ſoever. The length and eagerneſs of the diſpute had ſeparated the contending parties ſo compleatly, and had ſet their minds at ſuch variance, that they were not to be reconciled by partial conceſſions. All the zealous Catholics, particularly the eccleſiaſtics who had a ſeat in the diet, joined in condemning Gropper's treatiſe as too favourable to the Lutheran opinions, the poiſon of which hereſy it conveyed, as they pretended, with greater danger, becauſe it was in ſome degree diſguiſed. The rigid Proteſtants, eſpecially Luther himſelf, and his patron the Elector of Saxony, were for rejecting it as an impious compound of error and truth, craftily prepared that it might impoſe on the weak, the timid, and the unthinking. But the divines, to whom the examination of it was committed, entered upon that buſineſs with greater deliberation and temper. As it was more eaſy in itſelf, as well as more conſiſtent with the dignity of the church to make conceſſions, and even alterations with regard to ſpeculative opinions, the diſcuſſion whereof is confined

* Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. ii. p. 182.

chiefly

chiefly to ſchools, and which preſent nothing to the people that either ſtrikes their imagination or affects their ſenſes, they came to an accommodation about theſe without much labour, and even defined the great article concerning juſtification to their mutual ſatisfaction. But, when they proceeded to points of juriſdiction, where the intereſt and authority of the Roman See were concerned, or the rites and forms of external worſhip, where every change that could be made muſt be public, and draw the obſervation of the people, there the Catholics were altogether untractable; nor could the church either with ſafety or with honour aboliſh its ancient inſtitutions. All the articles relative to the power of the Pope, the authority of councils, the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, the worſhip of ſaints, and many other particulars, did not, in their nature admit of any temperament; ſo that after labouring long to bring about an accommodation with reſpect to theſe, the Emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual. Being impatient, however, to cloſe the diet, he at laſt prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following receſs; "That the articles contained which the divines had agreed in the conference, ſhould be held as points decided, and be obſerved inviolably by all; that the other articles about which they had differed, ſhould be referred to the determination of a general council, or if that could not be obtained, to a national ſynod of Germany; and if it ſhould prove impracticable, likewiſe, to aſſemble a ſynod, that a general diet of the Empire ſhould be called within eighteen months, in order to give ſome final judgment upon the whole controverſy; that the Emperor ſhould uſe all his intereſt and authority with the Pope, to procure the meeting either of a general council or ſynod; that, in the mean time, no innovations ſhould be attempted, no endeavours ſhould be employed to gain proſelytes; and neither the revenues of the church, nor the rights of the monaſteries, ſhould be invaded *."

Receſs of the diet of Ratiſbon in favour of a general council. July 28.

ALL the proceedings of this diet, as well as the receſs in which they terminated, gave great offence to the Pope. The power which the Germans had aſſumed of appointing their own divines to examine and determine matters of

Gives offence both to Papiſts and Proteſtants.

* Sleidan, 267, &c. Pallav. l. 4 c. 11. p. 136. F. Paul, p. 86. Seckend. l. iii. 256.

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controverſy, he conſidered as a very dangerous invaſion on his rights; the renewing of their ancient propoſal concerning a national ſynod, which had been ſo often rejected by him and his predeceſſors, appeared extremely undutiful; but the bare mention of allowing a diet, compoſed chiefly of laymen, to paſs judgment with reſpect to articles of faith, was deemed no leſs criminal and profane, than the worſt of thoſe hereſies which they ſeemed zealous to ſuppreſs. On the other hand, the Proteſtants were no leſs diſſatisfied with a receſs, which conſiderably abridged the liberty which they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly againſt it, Charles, unwilling to leave any ſeeds of diſcontent in the Empire, granted them a private declaration, in the moſt ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppreſſive or injurious in the receſs, and aſcertaining to them the full poſſeſſion of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed *.

Charles courts the Proteſtants.

Affairs of Hungary.

EXTRAORDINARY as theſe conceſſions may appear, the ſituation of his affairs at this juncture made it neceſſary for the Emperor to grant them. He foreſaw a rupture with France to be unavoidable, as well as near at hand, and durſt not give any ſuch cauſe of diſguſt or fear to the Proteſtants, as might force them, in ſelf-defence, to court the protection of the French King, from whom, at preſent, they were much alienated. The rapid progreſs of the Turks in Hungary, was a more powerful and preſent cauſe of the moderation which Charles diſcovered. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom; John Zapol Scæpus having choſen, as has been related, rather to poſſeſs a tributary kingdom, than to renounce the royal dignity to which he had been accuſtomed, had, by the aſſiſtance of his mighty protector Solyman, wreſted from Ferdinand a great part of the country, and left him only the precarious poſſeſſion of the reſt. But being a prince of pacific qualities, the frequent attempts of Ferdinand, or of his partizans among the Hungarians, to recover what they had loſt, gave him great pain; and the neceſſity, on theſe occaſions, of calling in the Turks, whom he conſidered and felt to be his maſters rather than auxiliaries, were ſcarce leſs mortifying. In order, therefore, to avoid theſe diſtreſſes, and to ſecure quiet and leiſure to enjoy the arts and amuſements in which he delighted, he ſe-

* Sleid. 283. Seckend. 366. Dumont Corps Diplom. iv. v. ii. p. 210.

cretly

cretly came to an agreement with his competitor, on this condition; That Ferdinand ſhould acknowledge him as King of Hungary, and leave him, during life, the unmoleſted poſſeſſion of that part of the kingdom now in his power; but that, upon his demiſe, the ſole right to the whole ſhould devolve upon Ferdinand *. As John had never been married, and was then far advanced in life, the terms of the contract ſeemed very favourable to Ferdinand. But, ſoon after, ſome of the Hungarian nobles, ſolicitous to prevent a foreigner from aſcending their throne, prevailed on John to put an end to a long celibacy, by marrying Iſabella, the daughter of Sigiſmond, King of Poland. John had the ſatisfaction, before his death, which happened within leſs than a year thereafter, to ſee a ſon born to inherit his kingdom. To him, without regarding his treaty with Ferdinand, which he conſidered, no doubt, as void, upon an event not foreſeen when it was concluded, he bequeathed his crown; appointing the Queen and George Martinuzzi, biſhop of Waradin, guardians of his ſon; and regents of the kingdom. The greater part of the Hungarians immediately acknowledged the young King, to whom, in memory of the founder of their monarchy, they gave the name of Stephen †.

Death of the King of Hungary.

Ferdinand's efforts to obtain the crown.

Ferdinand, though extremely diſconcerted by this unexpected event, reſolved not to abandon the kingdom which he had acquired by his compact with John. He ſent ambaſſadors to the Queen to claim poſſeſſion, and to offer the province of Tranſylvania as a ſettlement for her ſon, preparing at the ſame time to aſſert his right by force of arms. But John had committed the care of his ſon to perſons, who had too much ſpirit to give up the crown tamely, and who poſſeſſed abilities ſufficient to defend it. The Queen, to all the addreſs peculiar to her own ſex, added a maſculine courage, ambition, and magnanimity. Martinuzzi, who had raiſed himſelf from the loweſt rank in life to his preſent dignity, was one of thoſe extraordinary men, who, by the extent as well as variety of their talents, are fitted to act a ſuperior part in buſtling and factious times. In diſcharging the functions of his eccleſiaſtical office, he put on the ſemblance of an

Character and power of Martinuzzi.

* Iſthuanhaffi Hiſt. Hung. lib. xii. p. 135.
† Jovii Hiſt. lib. 39. p. 239, a. &c.

Book VI. humble and auſtere ſanctity. He diſcovered, in civil tranſactions, induſtry, dexterity and boldneſs. During war he laid aſide the caſſock, and appeared on horſeback with his ſcimitar and buckler, as active, as oſtentatious, and as gallant as any of his countrymen. Amidſt all theſe different and contradictory forms which he could aſſume, an inſatiable deſire of dominion and authority was conſpicuous. From ſuch perſons it was obvious what anſwer Ferdinand had to expect. He ſoon perceived that he muſt depend on arms alone for recovering Hungary. Having levied for this purpoſe a conſiderable body of Germans, whom his partizans among the Hungarians joined with their vaſſals, he ordered them to march into that part of the kingdom which adhered to Stephen. Martinuzzi, unable to make head againſt ſuch a powerful army in the field, ſatisfied himſelf with holding out the towns, all of which, eſpecially Buda, the place of greateſt conſequence, he provided with every thing neceſſary for defence; and in the mean time he ſent ambaſſadors to Solyman, beſeeching him to extend towards the ſon, the ſame Imperial protection which had ſo long maintained the father on his throne. The Sultan, though Ferdinand uſed his utmoſt endeavours to thwart this negotiation, and even offered to accept of the Hungarian crown on the ſame ignominious condition of paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte, by which John had held it, ſaw ſuch proſpects of advantage from eſpouſing the intereſt of the young King, that he inſtantly promiſed him his protection; and commanding one army to advance towards Hungary, he himſelf followed with another. Meanwhile the Germans, hoping to terminate the war by the reduction of a city in which the King and his mother were ſhut up, had formed the ſiege of Buda. Martinuzzi, having drawn thither the ſtrength of the Hungarian nobility, defended the town with ſuch courage and ſkill, as allowed the Turkiſh forces time to come up to its relief. They inſtantly attacked the Germans, weakened by fatigue, diſeaſes and deſertion, and defeated them with great ſlaughter *.

1541.

Calls in the Turks.

Solyman's ungenerous conduct.

SOLYMAN ſoon after joined his victorious troops, and being weary of ſo many expenſive expeditions undertaken in defence of dominions which were not his own, or being unable to reſiſt this alluring opportunity of ſeizing a

* Iſthuanhaffi hiſt. Hung. lib. 14. p. 130.

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kingdom, while poſſeſſed by an infant, under the guardianſhip of a woman and a prieſt, he allowed intereſted conſiderations to triumph with too much facility over the principles of honour and the ſentiments of humanity. What he planned ungenerouſly, he executed by fraud. Having prevailed on the Queen to ſend her ſon, whom he pretended to be deſirous of ſeeing, into his camp, and having at the ſame time invited the chief of the nobility to an entertainment there, while they, ſuſpecting no treachery, gave themſelves up to the mirth and jollity of the feaſt, a ſelect band of troops by the Sultan's orders ſeized one of the gates of Buda. Being thus maſter of the capital, of the King's perſon and of the leading men among the nobles, he ordered the Queen together with her ſon to be conducted to Tranſilvania, which province he allotted to them, and appointing a Baſha to reſide in Buda with a large body of ſoldiers, annexed Hungary to the Ottoman Empire. The tears and complaints of the unhappy Queen had no influence to change his purpoſe, nor could Martinuzzi either reſiſt his abſolute and uncontrolable command, or prevail on him to recall it *. Book VI. 1541.

Ferdinand's overtures to Solyman.

BEFORE the account of this violent uſurpation reached Ferdinand, he was ſo unlucky as to have diſpatched new ambaſſadors to Solyman with a freſh repreſentation of his right to the crown of Hungary, as well as a renewal of his former overture to hold the kingdom, of the Ottoman Porte, and to pay for it an annual tribute. This ill-timed propoſal was rejected with ſcorn. The ſultan elated with ſucceſs, and thinking that he might preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to a prince who voluntarily proffered conditions ſo unbecoming his own dignity, declared that he would not ſuſpend the operations of war, unleſs Ferdinand inſtantly evacuated all the towns which he held in Hungary, and conſented to the impoſition of a tribute upon Auſtria, in order to reimburſe the ſums, which his preſumptuous invaſion of Hungary had obliged the Ottoman Porte to expend in defence of that kingdom †.

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs in Hungary. As the unfortunate events there had either happened before the diſſolution of the diet at Ratiſbon, or were dreaded at that time, Charles ſaw the danger of irritating and inflaming the minds of the Germans, while ſuch a formidable ene-

* Iſtuanhaffi hiſt. Hung. lib. 14. p. 56. Jovii hiſt. lib. 39. p. 2476, &c.
† Iſtuanhaffi l. 14. p. 158.

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my was ready to break into the Empire; and perceived that he could not expect any vigorous assistance either towards the recovery of Hungary or the defence of the Austrian frontiers, unless he courted and satisfied the Protestants. By the concessions which have been mentioned, he gained this point, and such liberal supplies both of men and money were voted for carrying on the war against the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the security of Germany during the next campaign *.

Emperor visits Italy.

IMMEDIATELY upon the conclusion of the diet, the Emperor set out for Italy. As he passed through Lucca he had a short interview with the Pope, but nothing could be concluded concerning the proper method of composing the religious disputes in Germany, between two Princes whose views and interest with regard to that matter were at this juncture so opposite. The Pope's endeavours to remove the causes of discord between Charles and Francis, and to extinguish all those mutual animosities which threatened to break out suddenly into open hostility, were not more successful.

His expedition against Algiers, and motives of it.

THE Emperor's thoughts were bent so entirely, at that time, on the great enterprize which he had concerted against Algiers, that he listened with little attention to the Pope's schemes or overtures, and hastened to join his army and fleet †.

ALGIERS still continued in that state of dependance on the Turkish empire to which Barbarossa had subjected it. Ever since he, as captain Basha, commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Hascen-Aga, a renegado eunuch, who by passing through every station in the Corsair's service, had acquired great experience in war, and was well fitted for a station which required a man of tried and daring courage. Hascen, in order to shew how well he deserved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations against the Christian States with amazing activity, and out-did, if possible, Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruisers, and such frequent alarms given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity of erecting watch-towers at proper distances, and of keeping guards constantly on foot, in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to pro-

* Sleid. 283. † Sandov. histor. tom. ii. 298.

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tect the inhabitants from their deſcents *. Of this the Emperor's ſubjects had long complained, repreſenting it as an enterprize correſponding to his power, and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which ſince the conqueſt of Tunis, was the common receptacle of all the free-booters; and to exterminate that lawleſs race, the implacable enemies of the Chriſtian name. Moved partly by their intreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his laſt expedition into Africa, Charles before he left Madrid in his way to the Low-Countries, had iſſued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for this purpoſe. No change in circumſtances, ſince that time, could divert him from this reſolution, or prevail on him to turn his arms towards Hungary; though the ſucceſs of the Turks in that country ſeemed more immediately to require his preſence there; though many of his moſt faithful adherents in Germany urged that the defence of the Empire ought to be his firſt and peculiar care; though ſuch as bore him no good will, ridiculed his prepoſterous conduct in flying from an enemy almoſt at hand, that he might go in queſt of a remote and more ignoble foe. But to attack the Sultan in Hungary, how ſplendid ſoever that meaſure might appear, was an undertaking which exceeded his power, and was not conſiſtent with his intereſt. To draw troops out of Spain or Italy, to march them into a country ſo diſtant as Hungary, to provide the vaſt apparatus neceſſary for tranſporting thither the artillery, ammunition and baggage of a regular army, and to puſh the war in that quarter, where it could ſcarce be brought to any iſſue during ſeveral campaigns, were undertakings ſo extenſive and unwieldy as did not correſpond with the low condition of the Emperor's treaſury. While his principal force was thus employed, his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries muſt have lain open to the French King, who would not have allowed ſuch a favourable opportunity of attacking them to go unimproved. Whereas the African expedition, the preparations for which were already finiſhed, and almoſt the whole expence of it defrayed, would depend upon a ſingle effort, and beſides the ſecurity and ſatisfaction which the ſucceſs of it muſt give his ſubjects, would detain him during ſo

* Jovii hiſt. l. 40. p. 266.

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ſhort a ſpace, that Francis could ſcarce take advantage of his abſence, to invade his dominions in Europe.

1541. His preparations.

On all theſe accounts, Charles adhered to his firſt plan, and with ſuch determined obſtinacy, that he paid no regard to the Pope who adviſed, or to Andrew Doria who conjured him not to expoſe his whole armament to almoſt unavoidable deſtruction, by venturing at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, and while the autumnal winds were ſo violent, to approach the dangerous coaſt of Algiers. Having embarked on board Doria's gallies at Porto Venere in the Genoeſe territories, he ſoon found that this experienced ſailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was ſo well acquainted; for ſuch a ſtorm aroſe that it was with the utmoſt difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. But as his courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible, neither the remonſtrances of the Pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he had already been expoſed by diſregarding them, had any other effect than to confirm him in his fatal reſolution. The force, indeed, which he had collected was ſuch as might have inſpired a Prince leſs adventurous, and leſs confident in his own ſchemes, with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, Spaniards, Italians and Germans, moſtly veterans, together with three thouſand volunteers, the flower of the Spaniſh and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the Emperor by attending him in this favourite expedition, and eager to ſhare in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to theſe were added a thouſand ſoldiers ſent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by an hundred of its moſt gallant Knights.

Lands in Africa.

The voyage, from Majorca to the African coaſt, was not leſs tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had juſt finiſhed. When he approached the land, the roll of the ſea, and vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to diſembark. But at laſt, the Emperor ſeizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without oppoſition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppoſe this mighty army, Haſcen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thouſand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty anſwer when ſummoned to ſurrender. But with ſuch a handful of ſoldiers, neither his deſperate courage, nor conſummate

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skill in war could have long resisted forces superior to those which had defeated Barbarossa at the head of sixty thousand men, and had reduced Tunis, in spite of all his endeavours to save it. Book VI. 1541.

The disasters which befell his army,

But how far soever the Emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence, and human efforts availed nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for any thing but to disperse some light armed Arabs who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening rain began to fall accompanied with violent wind, and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury without tents, or shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low situation was overflowed with water, and they sunk at every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that to prevent their falling they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning, he sallied out with soldiers, who having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them, discovered greater courage, but as the rain had extinguished their matches and wet their powder, their muskets were useless, and having scarce strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the Emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

and fleet.

But all feeling or remembrance of this loss and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element

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ment is capable; all the ſhips, on which alone the whole army knew that their ſafety and ſubſiſtence depended, were ſeen driven from their anchors, ſome daſhing againſt each other, ſome beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced aſhore, and not a few ſinking in the waves. In leſs than an hour, fifteen ſhips of war, and an hundred and forty tranſports with eight thouſand men periſhed; and ſuch of the unhappy crews, as eſcaped the fury of the ſea, were murdered, without mercy, by the Arabs, as ſoon as they reached land. The Emperor ſtood in ſilent anguiſh and aſtoniſhment beholding this fatal event, which at once blaſted all his hopes of ſucceſs, and buried in the depths the vaſt ſtores which he had provided as well for annoying the enemy, as for ſubſiſting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other aſſiſtance or relief than by ſending ſome troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were ſo fortunate as to get aſhore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At laſt the wind began to fall, and to give ſome hopes that as many ſhips might eſcape, as to ſave the army from periſhing by famine, and tranſport them back to Europe. But theſe were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the ſea with darkneſs; and it being impoſſible for the officers aboard the ſhips that had outlived the ſtorm to ſend any intelligence to their companions who were aſhore, they remained during the night in all the anguiſh of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty. Next day, a boat diſpatched by Doria made ſhift to reach land, with information, that having weathered out the ſtorm, to which, during fifty years knowledge of the ſea, he had never ſeen any equal in fierceneſs and horror, he had found it neceſſary to bear away with his ſhattered ſhips to Cape Metafuz. He adviſed the Emperor, as the face of the ſky was ſtill lowering and tempeſtuous, to march with all ſpeed to that place, where the troops could reimbark with greater eaſe.

Obliged to retreat.

WHATEVER comfort this intelligence afforded Charles, from being aſſured that part of his fleet had eſcaped, was balanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was at leaſt three days march from his preſent camp; all the proviſions which he had brought aſhore at his firſt landing were now conſumed; his ſoldiers, worn out with fatigue, were ſcarce able for ſuch a journey, even in a friendly country; and being diſpirited by a ſucceſſion of hardſhips, which

which victory itſelf would ſcarce have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the ſituation of the army was ſuch, as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the leaſt doubtful what to chooſe. They were ordered inſtantly to march, the wounded, the ſick and the feeble being placed in the centre; ſuch as ſeemed moſt vigorous were ſtationed in the front and rear. Then the ſad effects of what they had ſuffered began to appear more manifeſtly than ever, and new calamities were added to all theſe which they had already endured. Some could ſcarce bear the weight of their arms; others, ſpent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almoſt impaſſable roads, ſunk down and died; many periſhed by famine, as the whole army ſubſiſted chiefly on roots and berries, or the fleſh of horſes, killed by the Emperor's order, and diſtributed among the ſeveral battalions; many were drowned in brooks which were ſwoln ſo much by the exceſſive rains, that in paſſing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who during the greateſt part of their retreat, alarmed, haraſſed and annoyed them night and day. At laſt they arrived at Metafuz; and the weather being now ſo calm as to reſtore their communication with the fleet, they were ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, and cheered with the proſpect of ſafety.

His fortitude of mind.

DURING this dreadful ſeries of calamities, the Emperor diſcovered great qualities, many of which an almoſt uninterrupted flow of proſperity had hitherto afforded him no opportunity of diſplaying. He was conſpicuous for firmneſs and conſtancy of ſpirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity and compaſſion. He endured as great hardſhips as the meaneſt ſoldier; he expoſed his own perſon wherever danger appeared; he encouraged the deſponding; viſited the ſick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the laſt who left the ſhore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great diſtance, ready to fall on the rear. By theſe virtues, Charles atoned, in ſome degree, for his obſtinacy and preſumption in undertaking an expedition ſo fatal to his ſubjects.

Returns to Europe.

THE calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprize did not end here; for no ſooner were the forces got on board, than a new ſtorm ariſing, though leſs furious than the former, ſcattered the fleet, and obliged them, ſeparately, to make towards ſuch ports in Spain or Italy as

Book VI. as they could firſt reach; thus ſpreading the account of their diſaſters, with all the circumſtances of aggravation
1541. and horror, which their fear or fancy ſuggeſted. The Emperor himſelf, after eſcaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was
Decemb. 2. obliged by contrary winds to remain ſeveral weeks, arrived at laſt in Spain, in a condition very different from that in which he had returned from his former expedition againſt the Infidels *.

* Carol. V. Expeditio ad Argyriam per Nicolaum Villagnonem Equitem Rhodium ap. Scardium, v. ii. 365. Jovii Hiſt. l. xl. p. 269—b. Vera y Zuniga vida de Carlos V. p. 83. Bandov. Hiſtor. ii. 299, &c.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VII.

THE calamities which the Emperor ſuffered in his unfortunate enterprize againſt Algiers were great; and the account of theſe, which augmented in proportion as it ſpread at a greater diſtance from the ſcene of his diſaſters, encouraged Francis to begin hoſtilities, on which he had been for ſome time reſolved. But he did not think it prudent, to produce as the motives of this reſolution, either his ancient pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, or the Emperor's diſingenuity in violating his repeated promiſes with regard to the reſtitution of that country. The former might have been a good reaſon againſt concluding the truce of Nice, but was none for breaking it; the latter could not be urged without expoſing his own credulity as much as the emperor's want of integrity. A violent and unwarrantable action of one of the imperial generals furniſhed him with a reaſon to juſtify his taking arms, which was of greater weight than either of theſe, and ſuch as would have rouzed him, if he had been as deſirous of peace, as he was eager for war. Francis, by ſigning the treaty

1541. Renewal of hoſtilities by Francis, and his motives for it.

Book VII. 1541.

treaty of truce at Nice, without conſulting Solyman, gave (as he foreſaw) great offence to that haughty Monarch, who conſidered an alliance with him as an honour of which a Chriſtian prince had cauſe to be proud. The French King's friendly interview with the Emperor in Provence, followed by ſuch extraordinary appearances of union and confidence as accompanied Charles's reception in France, induced the Sultan to ſuſpect that the two rivals had at laſt forgotten their ancient enmity, in order that they might form ſuch a general confederacy againſt the Ottoman power, as had beeen long wiſhed for in Chriſtendom and often attempted in vain. Charles with his uſual art, endeavoured to confirm and ſtrengthen theſe ſuſpicions, by inſtructing his emiſſaries at Conſtantinople as well as in thoſe courts with which Solyman held any intelligence, to repreſent the concord between him and Francis to be ſo entire, that their ſentiments, views and purſuits, would be the ſame for the future *. It was not without difficulty that Francis effaced theſe impreſſions; but the addreſs of Rincon, the French ambaſſador at the Porte, together with the manifeſt advantage of carrying on hoſtilities againſt the houſe of Auſtria in concert with France, prevailed at length on the Sultan to enter into a cloſer conjunction with Francis than ever. Rincon returned into France, in order to communicate to his maſter a ſcheme of the Sultan's for gaining the concurrence of the Venetians in their operations againſt the common enemy. Solyman having lately concluded a peace with the republic, to which the mediation of Francis, and the good offices of Rincon had greatly contributed, thought it not impoſſible to allure the ſenate by ſuch advantages, as, together with the example of the French Monarch, might overbalance any ſcruples ariſing either from decency or caution that could operate on the other ſide. Francis, warmly approving of this meaſure, diſpatched Rincon back to Conſtantinople, and directing him to go by Venice along with Fergoſo a Genoeſe exile whom he appointed his ambaſſador to that republic, empowered them to negotiate the matter with the Senate, to whom Solyman had ſent an envoy for the ſame purpoſe †. The Marquis del Guaſto, governor of the Milaneſe, an officer of great abili-

The murder of his ambaſſadors his pretext for this.

* Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. p. 502.
† Hiſt. de Venet. de Paruta, iv. 125.

ties,

ties, but capable of attempting and executing the moſt atrocious actions, got intelligence of the motions and deſtination of theſe ambaſſadors. As he knew how much his maſter wiſhed to diſcover the intentions of the French King, and of what conſequence it was to retard the execution of his meaſures, he employed ſome ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon of Pavia to lie in wait for Rincon and Fergoſo as they ſailed down the Po, who murdered them and moſt of their attendants and ſeized their papers. Upon receiving an account of this barbarous outrage, committed, during the ſubſiſtence of truce, againſt perſons held ſacred by the moſt uncivilized nations, Francis's grief for the unhappy fate of two ſervants whom he loved and truſted, his uneaſineſs at the interruption of his ſchemes by their death, and every other paſſion were ſwallowed up and loſt in the indignation which this inſult on the honour of his crown excited. He exclaimed loudly againſt Guaſto, who, having drawn upon himſelf all the infamy of aſſaſſination without making any diſcovery of importance, as the ambaſſadors had left their inſtructions and other papers of conſequence behind them, now boldly denied his being acceſſary in any wiſe to the crime. He ſent an ambaſſador to the Emperor to demand ſuitable reparation for an indignity, which no Prince, how inconſiderable ſoever or puſillanimous, could tamely endure: And when Charles, impatient at that time to ſet out on his African expedition, endeavoured to put him off with an evaſive anſwer, he appealed to all the courts in Europe, ſetting forth the heinouſneſs of the injury, the ſpirit of moderation with which he had applied for redreſs, and the iniquity of the Emperor in diſregarding this juſt requeſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING the confidence with which Guaſto aſſerted his own innocence, the accuſations of the French gained greater credit than all his proteſtations; and Bellay, the French commander in Piedmont, procured, at length, by his induſtry and addreſs, ſuch a minute detail of the tranſactions, with the teſtimony of ſo many of the parties concerned, as amounted almoſt to a legal proof of the marquis's guilt. In conſequence of this opinion of the public, confirmed by ſuch ſtrong evidence, Francis's complaints were univerſally allowed to be well founded, and the ſteps he took towards renewing hoſtilities were aſcribed not merely to ambition or reſentment,

but

Book VII. but to the unavoidable neceſſity of vindicating the honour of his crown *.

1541. But how juſt ſoever Francis might eſteem his own cauſe, he did not truſt ſo much to that, as to neglect the proper precautions for gaining other allies beſides the Sultan, by whoſe aid he might counterbalance the Emperor's ſuperior power. But his negotiations to this effect were attended with very little ſucceſs. Henry VIII. more and more bent upon ſchemes againſt Scotland, which he knew would at once diſſolve his union with France, was inclinable rather to take part with the Emperor than to contribute in any degree towards favouring the operations againſt him. The Pope adhered inviolably to his ancient ſyſtem of neutrality. The Venetians, notwithſtanding Solyman's ſolicitations, imitated the Pope's example. The Germans, ſatisfied with the religious liberty which they enjoyed, found it more their intereſt to gratify than to irritate the Emperor; ſo that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who on this occaſion were firſt drawn in to intereſt themſelves in the quarrels of the more potent Monarchs of the ſouth, and the duke of Cleves, who had a diſpute with the Emperor about the poſſeſſion of Gueldres, were the only confederates Francis ſecured. But the dominions of the two former lay at ſuch a diſtance, and the power of the latter was ſo inconſiderable, that he gained little by their alliance.

Francis's induſtry in preparing for war.

Francis, however, ſupplied all defects by his own activity. Being afflicted at this time with a diſtemper, the effect of his irregular pleaſures, and which prevented his purſuing them with the ſame licentious indulgence, he applied to buſineſs with more than his uſual induſtry. The ſame cauſe which occaſioned this extraordinary attention to his affairs, rendered him moroſe and diſſatisfied with the miniſters whom he had hitherto employed. This accidental peeviſhneſs of temper being ſharpened by reflecting on the falſe ſteps into which he had lately been betrayed, and the inſults to which he had been expoſed, ſome of thoſe in whom he had hitherto placed the greateſt confidence felt the effects of this change in his temper, and were deprived of their offices. At laſt he diſgraced Montmorency himſelf, who had long directed affairs as well civil as military with all the authority of a miniſter no leſs beloved than truſted by his maſter; and Francis

* Bellay, 367, &c. Jovii Hiſt. lib. xl. 263.

being

being fond of ſhewing that the fall of ſuch a powerful favourite did not affect the vigour or prudence of his adminiſtration, this was a new motive to redouble his diligence in preparing to open the war by ſome ſplendid and extraordinary effort. Book VII. 1541.

FRANCIS accordingly brought into the field five armies. One to act in Luxembourg under the Duke of Orleans, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine as his inſtructor in the art of war. Another commanded by the dauphin marched towards the frontiers of Spain. A third led by Van Roſſem the marſhal of Guelders, and compoſed chiefly of the troops of Cleves, had Brabant allotted for the theatre of its operations. A fourth, of which the duke of Vendome was general, hovered on the borders of Flanders. The laſt, conſiſting of the forces cantoned in Piedmont, was deſtined for the admiral Annibaut. The dauphin and his brother were appointed to command where the chief exertion was intended, and the greateſt honour to be reaped; the army of the former amounted to forty thouſand, that of the latter to thirty thouſand men. Nothing appears more ſurprizing than that Francis did not pour with theſe numerous and irreſiſtible armies into the Milaneſe, which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes as well as enterprizes, and that he ſhould chooſe rather to turn almoſt his whole ſtrength into another direction, and towards new conqueſts. But the remembrance of the diſaſters which he had met with in his former expeditions into Italy, together with the difficulty of ſupporting a war carried on at ſuch a diſtance from his own dominions, had gradually abated his violent inclination to obtain footing in that country, and made him willing to try the fortune of his arms in another quarter. At the ſame time he expected to make ſuch a powerful impreſſion on the frontier of Spain, where there were few towns of any ſtrength, and no army aſſembled to oppoſe him, as might enable him to recover poſſeſſion of the county of Rouſillon lately diſmembered from the French crown, before Charles could bring into the field any force able to obſtruct his progreſs. The neceſſity of ſupporting his ally the duke of Cleves, and the hope of drawing a conſiderable body of ſoldiers out of Germany by his means, determined him to act with vigour in the Low-Countries. 1542. He brings five armies into the field.

THE dauphin and Duke of Orleans opened the campaign much about the ſame time, the former laying ſiege to Perpignan the capital of Rouſillon, and the latter entering June. Their operations.

Book VII. 1542. ing Luxembourg. The duke of Orleans puſhed his operations with the greateſt rapidity and ſucceſs, one town falling after another, until no place in that large dutchy remained in the Emperor's hands but Thionville. Nor could he have failed of over-running the adjacent provinces with the ſame eaſe, if he had not voluntarily ſtopt ſhort in this career of victory. But a report prevailing that the Emperor had determined to hazard a battle in order to ſave Perpignan, on a ſudden, the Duke prompted by youthful ardour, or moved, perhaps, by jealouſy of his brother, whom he both envied and hated, abandoned his own conqueſts, and haſtened towards Rouſillon in order to divide with him the glory of the victory.

On his departure ſome of his troops were diſbanded, others deſerted their colours, and the reſt, cantoned in the towns which he had taken, remained inactive. By this conduct, which leaves a diſhonourable imputation either on his underſtanding or his heart, or on both, he not only renounced whatever he could have hoped from ſuch a promiſing opening of the campaign, but gave the enemy an opportunity of recovering, before the end of ſummer, all the conqueſts which he had gained. On the Spaniſh frontier, the Emperor was not ſo inconſiderate as to venture on a battle, the loſs of which might have endangered his kingdom. Perpignan, though poorly fortified, and briſkly attacked, having been largely ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions by the vigilance of Doria *, was defended ſo long and ſo vigorouſly by the duke of Alva, the perſevering obſtinacy of whoſe temper fitted him admirably for ſuch ſervice, that at laſt the French, after a ſiege of three months, waſted by diſeaſes, repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, relinquiſhed the undertaking, and retired into their own country †. Thus all Francis's mighty preparations, either from ſome defect in his own conduct, or from the ſuperior power and prudence of his rival, produced no effects that bore any proportion to his expence and efforts, or ſuch as gratified, in any degree, his own hopes, or anſwered the expectation of Europe. The only ſolid advantage of the campaign was the acquiſition of a few towns in Piedmont, wich Bellay gained rather by ſtratagem and addreſs, than by the force of his arms ‡.

* Sigonii Vita A. Doriæ, p. 1191. † Sandov. Hiſt. tom. ii. 315.
‡ Sandov. Hiſt. ii. 318. Bellay, 387, &c Ferrer. 9. 237.

Meanwhile

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MEANWHILE the Emperor and Francis, though both conſiderably exhauſted by ſuch great but indeciſive efforts, diſcovering no abatement of their mutual animoſity, employed all their attention, tried every expedient, and turned themſelves towards every quarter, in order to acquire new allies, together with ſuch a reinforcement of ſtrength as would give them the ſuperiority in the enſuing campaign. Charles, taking advantage of the terror and reſentment of the Spaniards, upon the ſudden invaſion of their country, prevailed on the Cortes of the ſeveral kingdoms to grant him ſubſidies with a more liberal hand than uſual. At the ſame time, he borrowed a large ſum from John, King of Portugal, putting him in poſſeſſion by way of ſecurity for his being repayed, of the Molucca iſles in the Eaſt Indies, with the gainful commerce of precious ſpices, which that ſequeſtered corner of the globe yields. Not ſatisfied with this, he negotiated a marriage between Philip his only ſon, now in his ſixteenth year, and Mary daughter of that Monarch, with whom her father, the moſt opulent prince in Europe, gave a large dower; and having likewiſe perſuaded the Cortes of Arragon and Valencia to recognize Philip as the heir of theſe crowns, he obtained from them the donative uſual on ſuch occaſions *. Theſe extraordinary ſupplies enabled him to make ſuch additions to his forces in Spain, that he could detach a great body into the Low-Countries, and yet reſerve as many as were ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Having thus provided for the ſecurity of Spain, and committed the government of it to his ſon, he ſailed for Italy, in his way to Germany. But how attentive ſoever to raiſe the funds for carrying on the war, or eager to graſp at any new expedient for that purpoſe, he was not ſo inconſiderate as to accept of the overture which Paul, knowing his neceſſities, artfully threw out to him. That ambitious Pontiff, no leſs ſagacious to diſcern, than watchful to ſeize opportunities of aggrandizing his family, ſolicited him to grant Octavio his grandchild, whom the Emperor had admitted to the honour of being his ſon-in-law, the inveſtiture of the dutchy of Milan, in return for which he promiſed ſuch a vaſt ſum of money as would have gone far towards ſupplying his preſent exigencies. But Charles, as well from unwillingneſs to alienate a province of ſo much value as from diſguſt at the Pope, who

Preparations for another campaign.

May.

* Ferreras, 9. 238, 241. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 42. 298. 6.

Book VII. 1543. had hitherto refuſed to join in the war againſt Francis, rejected the propoſal. His diſſatisfaction with Paul at that juncture was ſo great, that he even refuſed to approve his alienating Parma and Placentia from the patrimony of St. Peter, and ſettling them on his own ſon and grandſon as a fief to be held of the Holy ſee. As no other expedient for raiſing money among the Italian ſtates remained, he conſented to withdraw the garriſons which he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn, in conſideration for which, he received a large preſent from Coſmo di Medici, who by this means ſecured his own independence, and got poſſeſſion of two forts, which were juſtly called the fetters of Tuſcany *.

The Emperor's negotiations with Henry VIII.

But Charles, while he ſeemed to have turned his whole attention towards raiſing the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expences of the year, had not been negligent of objects more diſtant, though no leſs important, and had concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with Henry VIII. from which he derived in the end, greater advantage than from all his other preparations. Several ſlight circumſtances, which have already been mentioned, had begun to alienate the affections of that Monarch from Francis his preſent ally, and new incidents of greater moment had occurred to increaſe his diſguſt and animoſity.

Henry's rupture with France and Scotland.

Henry, deſirous of eſtabliſhing an uniformity in religion in Great Britain, as well as fond of making proſelytes to his own opinions, had formed a ſcheme of perſuading his nephew the King of Scotland to renounce the Pope's ſupremacy, and to adopt the ſame ſyſtem of reformation which he had introduced into England. This meaſure he purſued with his uſual eagerneſs and impetuoſity, making ſuch advantageous overtures to James, whom he conſidered as not over ſcrupulouſly attached to any religious tenets, that he ſcarce doubted of ſucceſs. His propoſitions were accordingly received in ſuch a manner that he flatterred himſelf with having gained his point. But the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics, foreſeeing the ruin of the church to be the conſequence of the King's union with England; and the partizans of France, no leſs convinced that it would put an end to the influence of that crown upon the publick councils of Scotland, combined together, and by their inſinuations defeated Henry's ſcheme at the very moment when he expected it to have taken effect. Too haughty to brook ſuch a diſappointment,

* Adriani Iſtoria i. 195. Sleid. 312. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 43. p. 301. Vita di Coſ. Medici di Baldini, p. 34.

which

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which he imputed as much to the arts of the French as to the levity of the Scottiſh Monarch, he took arms againſt Scotland, threatening to ſubdue the kingdom, ſince he could not gain the friendſhip of its King. At the ſame time, his reſentment at Francis quickened his negotiations with the Emperor, an alliance with whom he was now as forward to accept as the other could be to offer it. During this war with Scotland, and before the concluſion of his negotiations with Charles, James V. died, leaving his crown to Mary his only daughter, an infant a few days old. Upon this event, Henry altered at once his whole ſyſtem with regard to Scotland, and abandoning all thoughts of conquering it, aimed at what was more advantageous as well as practicable, an union with that kingdom by a marriage between Edward his only ſon and the young Queen. But here, too, he apprehended a vigorous oppoſition from the French faction in Scotland, which began to beſtir itſelf in order to thwart the meaſure. The neceſſity of cruſhing this party among the Scots, and of preventing Francis from furniſhing them with any effectual aid, confirmed Henry's reſolution of breaking with France, and puſhed him on to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty of confederacy with the Emperor.

February 11. Alliance between Charles and Henry.

In this league were contained firſt of all, articles for ſecuring their future amity and mutual defence; then were enumerated the demands which they were reſpectively to make upon Francis; and the plan of their proceedings was fixed if he ſhould refuſe to grant them ſatisfaction. They agreed to require, that Francis ſhould not only renounce his alliance with Solyman, which had been the ſource of infinite calamities to Chriſtendom, but alſo that he ſhould make reparation for the damages which that unnatural union had occaſioned; that he ſhould reſtore Burgundy to the Emperor; that he ſhould deſiſt immediately from hoſtilities, and leave Charles at leiſure to oppoſe the common enemy of the Chriſtian faith; and that he ſhould immediately pay the ſums due to Henry, or put ſome towns in his hands as ſecurity to that effect. If, within forty days, he did not comply with theſe demands, they then engaged to invade France each with twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and not to lay down their arms until they had recovered Burgundy, together with the towns on the Somme, for the Emperor, and Normandy and Guienne,

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or even the whole realm of France for Henry*. Their heralds, accordingly, ſet out with theſe haughty requiſitions; but not being permitted to enter France could not perform their commiſſion, and the two Monarchs held themſelves fully entitled to execute whatever was ſtipulated in their treaty.

Francis's negotiations with Solyman.

FRANCIS on his part was no leſs diligent in preparing for the approaching campaign. Having early obſerved the ſymptoms of Henry's diſguſt and alienation, and finding all his endeavours to ſooth and reconcile him ineffectual, he knew his temper too well not to expect that open hoſtilities would quickly follow upon this ceſſation of friendſhip. For this reaſon he redoubled his endeavours to obtain from Solyman ſuch aid as might counterbalance the great acceſſion of ſtrength which the Emperor would receive by his alliance with England. In order to ſupply the place of his two ambaſſadors murdered by Guaſto, he ſent as his envoy firſt to Venice, and then to Conſtantinople, Paulin, a captain of foot, a man of a daring active ſpirit, and on account of theſe qualities thought worthy of this ſervice, to which he was recommended by Bellay, who had trained him to the arts of negotiation, and made trial of his talents and addreſs on ſeveral occaſions. Nor did he belie the opinion conceived of his courage and abilities. Haſtening to Conſtantinople, without regarding the dangers to which he was expoſed, he urged his maſter's demands with ſuch boldneſs, and availed himſelf of every circumſtance with ſuch dexterity, that he removed all the Sultan's own difficulties. He ſilenced likewiſe ſome of the Baſſas, who either ſwayed by opinion, or having been gained by the Emperor, whoſe emiſſaries had made their way even into that court, had declared in the Divan againſt acting in concert with France†. At laſt he obtained orders for Barbaroſſa to ſail with a powerful fleet, and to regulate all his operations by the directions of the French King. Francis was not equally ſucceſsful in his attempts to gain the princes of the Empire. The extraordinary rigour with which he thought it neceſſary to puniſh ſuch of his ſubjects as had embraced the proteſtant opinions, in order to give ſome notable evidence of his own zeal for the Catholick faith, and to wipe off the imputations to which he was liable from his

* Rym. xiv. 768. Herb. 238. Jovii Hiſt. lib. 41. 285, &c. 300, &c.

† Sandov. Hiſtor. tom. ii. 346. Brantome.

confede-

confederacy with the Turks, placed an inſuperable barrier between him and ſuch of the Germans as intereſt and inclination would have prompted moſt readily to join him †. His chief advantage, however, over the Emperor, he derived on this, as on other occaſions, from the contiguity of his dominions, as well as from the extent of the royal authority in France, which exempted him from all the delays and diſappointments unavoidable wherever popular aſſemblies provide for the expences of government by occaſional and frugal ſubſidies. Hence his domeſtick preparations were always carried on with vigour, and rapidity, while thoſe of the Emperor, unleſs when quickened by ſome foreign ſupply, or ſome temporary expedient, were to the laſt degree ſlow and dilatory.

1543.

Operations in the Low-Countries.

LONG before any army was in readineſs to oppoſe him, Francis took the field in the Low-Countries, againſt which he turned the whole weight of the war. He made himſelf maſter of Landrecy, which he determined to keep as the key to the whole province of Hainault; and ordered it to be fortified with great care. Turning from thence to the right, he entered the dutchy of Luxembourg, and found it in the ſame defenceleſs ſtate as in the former year. Meanwhile, the Emperor, having drawn together an army compoſed of all the different nations ſubject to his government, entered the territories of the Duke of Cleves, on whom he had vowed to inflict exemplary vengeance. This prince, whoſe conduct and ſituation were ſimilar to that of Robert de la Mark in the firſt war between Charles and Francis, reſembled him likewiſe in his fate. Unable, with his feeble army, to face the Emperor, who advanced at the head of forty-four thouſand men, he retired at his approach, and the Imperialiſts being at liberty to act as they pleaſed, immediately inveſted Duren. That town, though gallantly defended, was won by aſſault, all the inhabitants put to the ſword, and the place itſelf reduced to aſhes. This dreadful example of ſeverity ſtruck the people of the country with ſuch general terror, that all the other towns, even ſuch as were capable of reſiſtance, ſent their keys to the Emperor; and before a body of French detached to his aſſiſtance could come up, the duke himſelf was obliged to make his ſubmiſſion to Charles in the moſt abject manner. Being admitted into the Imperial preſence, he kneeled together

The Emperor becomes maſter of the Dutchy of Cleves. Auguſt 24.

† Seck. lib. iii. 403.

Book VII. 1543. with eight of his principal ſubjects, and implored mercy. The Emperor allowed him to remain in that ignominious poſture, and eying him with an haughty and implacable look, without deigning to anſwer a ſingle word, remitted him to his miniſters. The conditions, however, which they preſcribed were not ſo rigorous as he had reaſon to have expected after ſuch a reception. He was obliged to renounce his alliance with France and Denmark; to reſign all his pretenſions to the dutchy of Gueldres; to enter into perpetual amity with the Emperor and King of the Romans. In return for which all his hereditary dominions were reſtored, except two towns which the Emperor kept as pledges of his fidelity during the continuance of the war, and he was re-inſtated in his privileges as a prince of the Empire. Not long after Charles, as a proof of the ſincerity of his reconcilement, gave him in marriage one of the daughters of his brother Ferdinand *.

September 7.

Beſieges Landrecy.

HAVING thus chaſtiſed the preſumption of the Duke of Cleves, detached one of his allies from Francis, and added to his dominions in the Low-Countries a conſiderable province which lay contiguous to them, Charles advanced towards Hainault, and laid ſiege to Landrecy. There, as the firſt fruits of his alliance with Henry, he was joined by ſix thouſand Engliſh under Sir John Wallop. The garriſon, conſiſting of veteran troops commanded by de la Lande and Deſſé, two officers of reputation, made a vigorous reſiſtance. Francis approached with all his forces to relieve the place; Charles covered the ſiege; both were determined to hazard an engagement; and all Europe expected to ſee this conteſt, which had continued ſo long, decided at laſt by a battle between two great armies led by them in perſon. But the ground which ſeparated their two camps was ſuch, as put the diſadvantage manifeſtly on his ſide who ſhould venture to attack, and neither of them choſe to run that riſque: amidſt a variety of movements, in order to draw the enemy into this ſnare, or to avoid it themſelves, Francis, with admirable conduct, and equal good fortune, threw firſt a ſupply of freſh troops, and then a convoy of proviſions into the town, ſo that the Emperor deſpairing of ſucceſs, withdrew into winter quarters † in order to preſerve his army from being entirely ruined by the rigour of the ſeaſon.

* Harzi. Annal. Brabant, t. 1. 628. Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 226.
† Bellay, 405, &c.

MEAN-

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MEANWHILE, Solyman fulfilled his engagements to the French King with great punctuality. He himſelf marched into Hungary with a numerous army, and as the princes of the Empire made no great effort to ſave a country which Charles, by employing his whole force againſt Francis, ſeemed willing to ſacrifice, there was no appearance of any body of troops to oppoſe his progreſs. He beſieged one after another, Quinque Eccleſiæ, Alba and Gran, the three moſt conſiderable towns in the kingdom, of which Ferdinand kept poſſeſſion. The firſt was taken by ſtorm, the other two ſurrendered; and the whole kingdom, a ſmall corner excepted, was ſubjected to the Turkiſh yoke*. About the ſame time, Barbaroſſa ſailed with a fleet of an hundred and ten gallies, and coaſting along the ſhore of Calabria, made a deſcent at Rheggio which he plundered and burnt; and advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber he ſtopt there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his deſtination, and filled with terror, began to fly with ſuch general precipitation, that the city would have been left deſerted, if they had not reſumed courage upon letters from Polin the French Envoy, aſſuring them that no violence or injury would be offered by the Turks to any ſtate in alliance with the King his maſter †. From Oſtia Barbaroſſa ſailed to Marſeilles, and being joined by the French fleet with a body of land forces on board under the count d'Enguien, a gallant young prince of the houſe of Bourbon, they directed their courſe towards Nice, the ſole retreat of the unfortunate duke of Savoy. There to the aſtoniſhment and ſcandal of all Chriſtendom, the Lilies of France and Creſcent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction againſt the fortreſs on which the Croſs of Savoy was diſplayed. The town, however, was bravely defended againſt their combined force by Montfort a Savoyard gentleman, who ſtood a general aſſault, and repulſed the enemy with great loſs, before he retired into the caſtle. That fort ſituated upon a rock, on which the artillery made no impreſſion, and which could not be undermined, he held out ſo long, that Doria had time to approach with his fleet, and the marquis del Guaſto to march with a body of troops from Milan. Upon intelligence of this, the French and Turks

1543. November. Solyman invades Hungary.

Barbaroſſa's deſcent on Italy.

Auguſt 10.

September 8.

* Iſtuanhaffi, Hiſtor. Hung. l. 15. 167.
† Jovii Hiſt. l. 43. 304, &c. Pallavic. 160.

raiſed

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raiſed the ſiege *: and Francis had not even the conſolation of ſucceſs to render the infamy, which he drew on himſelf by calling in ſuch an auxiliary, more tolerable.

Preparations for a new campaign.

FROM the ſmall progreſs of either party during this campaign, it was obvious to what a length the war might be drawn out between two princes, whoſe power was ſo equally balanced, and who by their own talents or activity could ſo vary and multiply their reſources. The trial they had now made of each others ſtrength might have taught them the imprudence of perſiſting in a war, wherein there was greater appearance of their diſtreſſing their own dominions than of conquering thoſe of their adverſary, and ſhould have diſpoſed both to wiſh for peace. If Charles and Francis had been influenced by conſiderations of intereſt or prudence alone, this, without doubt, muſt have been the manner in which they would have reaſoned, but the perſonal animoſity, which mingled itſelf in all their quarrels, had grown to be ſo violent and implacable, that for the pleaſure of gratifying it, they diſregarded every thing elſe; and were infinitely more ſolicitous how to hurt their enemy, than how to ſecure what would be of advantage to themſelves. No ſooner then did the ſeaſon force them to ſuſpend hoſtilities, than, without paying any attention to the Pope's repeated endeavours or paternal exhortations to re-eſtabliſh peace, they began to provide for the operations of the next year with new vigour, and an activity increaſing with their hatred. Charles turned his chief attention towards gaining the princes of the Empire, and endeavouring to rouze the formidable but unweildy ſtrength of the Germanick body againſt Francis. In order to underſtand the propriety of the ſteps which he took for that purpoſe, it is neceſſary to review the chief tranſactions in that country ſince the diet of Ratiſbon in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty one.

Affairs of Germany.

Maurice of Saxony ſucceeds his father.

MUCH about the time that aſſembly broke up, Maurice ſucceeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family. This young prince, then only in his twentieth year, had, even at that early period, begun to diſcover the great talents which qualified him for acting ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part in the affairs of Germany. As

* Guichenon hiſtoire de Savoye, t. 1. p. 651. Bellay, 425, &c.

ſoon

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ſoon as he entered upon the adminiſtration he ſtruck out into ſuch a new and ſingular path, as ſhewed that he aimed, from the beginning, at ſomething great and uncommon. Though zealouſly attached to the Proteſtant opinions both from education and principle, he refuſed to accede to the league of Smalkalde, being determined, as he ſaid, to maintain the purity of religion which was the original object of that confederacy, but not to entangle himſelf in the political intereſts or combinations to which it had given riſe. At the ſame time, foreſeeing a rupture between Charles and the confederates of Smalkalde, and perceiving which of them was moſt likely to prevail in the conteſt, inſtead of that jealouſy and diſtruſt which the other Proteſtants expreſſed of all the Emperor's deſigns, he affected to place in him an unbounded confidence; and courted his favour with the utmoſt aſſiduity. When the other proteſtants, in the year fifteen hundred and forty two, either declined aſſiſting Ferdinand in Hungary, or afforded him reluctant and feeble aid, Murice marched thither in perſon, and rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his zeal and courage. From the ſame motive he had led to the Emperor's aſſiſtance, during the former campaign a body of his own troops; and the gracefulneſs of his perſon, his dexterity in all military exerciſes, together with his intrepidity which courted and delighted in dangers, did not diſtinguiſh him more in the field, than his great abilities and inſinuating addreſs won upon the Emperor's confidence and favour *. While by this conduct, which appeared extraordinary to thoſe who held the ſame opinions with him concerning religion, Maurice endeavoured to pay court to the Emperor, he began to diſcover ſome degree of jealouſy of his couſin the Elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the ſequel ſo fatal to the Elector, had almoſt occaſioned an open rupture between them; and ſoon after Maurice's acceſſion to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a diſpute about the right of juriſdiction over a paltry town ſituated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from coming to blows by the mediation of the Landgrave of Heſſe, whoſe daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther †.

The views and conduct of this young Prince.

* Sleid. 317. Seck. l. iii. 371, 386, 428.
† Sleid. 292. Seck. l. iii. 403.

MEAN-

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1543. The Pope proposes to hold a general council at Trent.

MEANWHILE the Pope, though extremely irritated at the Emperor's conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the diet of Ratiſbon, was ſo warmly ſolicited on all hands, by ſuch as were moſt devoutly attached to the ſee of Rome, no leſs than by thoſe whoſe fidelity or deſigns he ſuſpected, to ſummon a general council, that he found it impoſſible to avoid any longer calling that aſſembly. The impatience for its meeting, and the expectations of great effects from its deciſions, ſeemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He ſtill adhered, however, to his original reſolution of holding it in ſome town of Italy, where, by the number of eccleſiaſticks, retainers to his court, and depending on his favour, who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence and even direct all its proceedings. This propoſition, though often rejected by the Germans, he inſtructed his nuncio

March 3. to the diet held at Spires, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty two, to renew once more; and if he found it gave no greater ſatisfaction than formerly, he empowered him, as a laſt conceſſion, to propoſe for the place of meeting, Trent, a city in the Tyrol, ſubject to the King of the Romans, and ſituated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The Catholick princes in the diet, after giving it as their opinion that the council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratiſbon, Cologne, or ſome of the great cities in the Empire, approved of the place which the Pope had named. The Proteſtants unanimouſly expreſſed their diſſatisfaction, declaring that they would pay no regard to a council held without the precincts of the Empire, called by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding *.

May 22. 1542. Summons it to meet.

THE Pope, without taking any notice of their objections, publiſhed the bull of intimation, named three cardinals to preſide as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent before the firſt of November, the day he had fixed for opening the council. But if Paul had deſired the meeting of a council as ſincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on ſuch an improper time for calling it. Inſtead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a council could neither be conducted with ſecurity, nor attended with authority, ſuch a fierce war was juſt kindled between the Emperor and Francis, as rendered it impoſſible for the eccleſiaſticks

* Sleid. 291. Seck. l. iii. 283.

from

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from many parts of Europe to reſort thither in ſafety. The legates, accordingly, remained ſeveral months at Trent without any perſons appearing, except a few prelates from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; upon which the Pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and contempt which this drew upon him from the enemies of the church, recalled them and prorogued the council *.

Obliged to prorogue it.

UNHAPPILY for the authority of the Papal ſee, at the very time that the German Proteſtants took every occaſion of pouring contempt upon it, the Emperor and King of the Romans found it neceſſary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. In the ſame diet of Spires, wherein they had proteſted in the moſt diſreſpectful terms againſt aſſembling a council at Trent, Ferdinand who depended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that proteſtation to be inſerted in the records of the diet, but renewed in their favour all the Emperor's conceſſions at Ratiſbon, adding to them whatever they could demand for their farther ſecurity. Among other particulars, he granted a ſuſpenſion of a decree of the Imperial chamber againſt the city of Goſlar, one of thoſe which had entered into the league of Smalkalde, on account of its having ſeized the eccleſiaſtical revenues within its domains, and enjoined Henry duke of Brunſwick to deſiſt from his attempts to carry that decree into execution. But Henry, a furious bigot, and no leſs obſtinate than raſh in all his undertakings, continuing to diſquiet the people of Goſlar by his incurſions, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, that they might not ſuffer any member of the Smalkaldick body to be oppreſſed, aſſembled their forces, declared war in form againſt Henry, and in the ſpace of a few weeks ſtript him intirely of his dominions, and drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no leſs ſevere than ſudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power, and the confederates of Smalkalde appeared, by this firſt effort of their arms, to be as prompt as capable to protect thoſe who had joined their aſſociation †.

The Emperor courts the Proteſtants.

Their vigorous proceedings.

EMBOLDENED by ſo many conceſſions in their favour, as well as by the progreſs which their opinions daily made,

* F. Paul p. 97. Sleid. 296.

† Sleid 296. Commemoratio ſuccincta cauſarum Belli, &c. a Smalcadicis contra Henr. Brunſw. ab iiſdem edita; ap. Scardium. Tom. ii. 307.

the

Book VII. 1543. the princes of the league of Smalkalde took a ſolemn proteſt againſt the Imperial chamber, and declined its juriſdiction for the future, becauſe that court had not been viſited or reformed according to the decree of Ratiſbon, and continued to diſcover a moſt indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a ſtep farther, and proteſting againſt the receſs of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refuſed to furniſh their contingent for that purpoſe, unleſs the Imperial chamber were reformed, and full ſecurity granted them in every point with regard to religion *.

April 23. 1543.

Diet at Spires. 1544.

SUCH were the lengths to which the Proteſtants had proceeded, and ſuch their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor returned from the Low-Countries, to hold a diet which he had ſummoned to meet at Spires. The reſpect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this aſſembly extremely full. All the Electors, a great number of princes eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, with the deputies of moſt of the cities were preſent. Charles ſoon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous ſpirit of the Proteſtants, by aſſerting in any high tone the authority and doctrines of the church, or by abridging in the ſmalleſt article, the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that, on the contrary, if he expected any ſupport from them, or wiſhed to preſerve Germany from inteſtine diſorders while he was engaged in a foreign war, he muſt ſooth them by new conceſſions, and a more ample extenſion of their religious privileges. He began, accordingly, with courting the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, the heads of the Proteſtant party, and by giving up ſome things in their favour, and granting liberal promiſes with regard to others, he ſecured himſelf from any danger of oppoſition on their part. Having aſcertained this capital point, he then ventured to addreſs the diet with greater freedom. He began by repreſenting his own zeal, and unwearied efforts with regard to two things moſt eſſential to Chriſtendom, the procuring of a general council in order to compoſe the religious diſſenſions which had unhappily ariſen in Germany, and the providing ſome proper means for checking the formidable progreſs of the Turkiſh arms. But that his pious endeavous had been entirely defeated by the unjuſtifiable ambi-

The Emperor ſolicits aid againſt France.

* Sleid. 304, 307. Seck. l. iii. 404, 416.

tion

tion of the French King, who having wantonly kindled the flame of war in Europe, which had been ſo lately extinguiſhed by the truce of Nice, rendered it impoſſible for the fathers of the church to aſſemble in council, or to deliberate with ſecurity; and obliged him to employ thoſe forces in his own defence, which with greater ſatisfaction to himſelf, as well as more honour to Chriſtendom, he would have turned againſt the Infidels. That Francis not thinking it enough to have called him off from oppoſing the Infidels, had, with unexampled impiety, invited them into the heart of Chriſtendom, and joining his arms to theirs, had openly attacked the Duke of Savoy a member of the Empire. That Barbaroſſa's fleet was now in one of the ports of France, waiting only the return of ſpring to carry terror and deſolation to the coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſtate. That in ſuch a ſituation it was folly to think of diſtant expeditions againſt the Turk, or of marching to oppoſe his armies in Hungary, while ſuch a powerful ally received him into the centre of Europe, and gave him footing there. That prudence dictated to oppoſe, firſt of all, the neareſt and moſt imminent danger, and by humbling the power of France, to deprive Solyman of the advantages, which he derived from the unnatural confederacy formed between him and a Monarch, who ſtill arrogated the name of Moſt Chriſtian. That, in truth, a war againſt the French King and the Sultan ought to be conſidered as the ſame thing; and that every advantage gained over the former, was a ſevere and ſenſible blow to the latter. That, therefore, he now demanded their aid againſt Francis, not merely as an enemy of the Germanick body, or of him who was its head, but as an avowed ally of the Infidels, and a public enemy to the Chriſtian name. Book VII. 1544

In order to give greater weight to this violent invective of the Emperor, the King of the Romans ſtood up, and related the rapid conqueſts of the Sultan in Hungary, occaſioned, as he ſaid, by the fatal neceſſity impoſed on his brother of employing his arms againſt France; and the ambaſſadors of Savoy gave a detail of Barbaroſſa's operations at Nice, and of the ravages which he had committed on that coaſt. All theſe, added to the general indignation which Francis's unprecedented union with the Turks excited in Europe, made ſuch an impreſſion on the diet as the Emperor wiſhed, and diſpoſed moſt of the members to grant him ſuch effectual aid as he had demanded.

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manded. The ambaſſadors Francis had ſent to explain the motives of his conduct, were not permitted to enter the bounds of the Empire; and the apology which they publiſhed for their maſter, vindicating his alliance with Solyman, by examples drawn from ſcripture, and the practice of Chriſtian princes, was little regarded by men, irritated already, or prejudiced againſt him to ſuch a degree, as to be incapable of allowing their proper weight to any arguments in his behalf.

His vaſt conceſſions in order to gain the Proteſtants.

SUCH being the favourable diſpoſition of the Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could now obſtruct his gaining all that he aimed at, but the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants, which he determined to quiet by granting every thing, that the utmoſt ſolicitude of theſe paſſions could deſire for the ſecurity of their religion. With this view, he conſented to a receſs, whereby all the rigorous edicts hitherto iſſued againſt the Proteſtants were ſuſpended; a council either general or national to be aſſembled in Germany was declared neceſſary in order to re-eſtabliſh peace in the church; until one of theſe ſhould be held, (which the Emperor undertook to bring about as ſoon as poſſible) the free and public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion was authorized; the Imperial chamber was to give no moleſtation to the Proteſtants; and when the term, for which the preſent judges in that court were elected, ſhould expire, perſons duly qualified were then to be admitted as members, without any diſtinction on account of religion. In return for theſe extraordinary acts of indulgence, the Proteſtants concurred, with the other members of the diet, in declaring war againſt Francis in the name of the Empire; in voting the Emperor a body of twenty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to be maintained at the public expence for ſix months, and to be employed againſt France; and at the ſame time the diet impoſed a poll-tax to be levied throughout all Germany on every perſon without exception, for the ſupport of the war againſt the Turks.

And granted by the diet.

Charles's negotiations with Denmark and England.

CHARLES, while he gave the greateſt attention to the minute and intricate detail of particulars neceſſary towards conducting the deliberations of a numerous and divided aſſembly to ſuch a ſucceſsful period, negotiated a ſeparate peace with the King of Denmark, who, though he had hitherto performed nothing conſiderable in conſequence of his alliance with Francis, had it in his power, however, to make a formidable diverſion in favour of that

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that monarch *. At the ſame time, he did not neglect proper applications to the King of England, in order to rouze him to more vigorous efforts againſt their common enemy. Little, indeed, was wanting to accompliſh this; for ſuch events had happened in Scotland as inflamed Henry to the moſt violent pitch of reſentment againſt Francis. Having concluded with the parliament of Scotland a treaty of marriage between his ſon and their young Queen, by which he reckoned himſelf ſecure of effecting the union of the two kingdoms, which had been long deſired, and often attempted without ſucceſs by his predeceſſors, Mary of Guiſe the Queen mother, cardinal Beatoun, and other partizans of France, found means not only to break off the match, but to alienate the Scottiſh nation entirely from the friendſhip of England, and to ſtrengthen its ancient attachment to France. Henry, however, did not abandon an object of ſo much importance. As the humbling of Francis, beſides the pleaſure of taking revenge upon an enemy who had diſappointed a favourite meaſure, appeared the moſt effectual method of bringing the Scots to accept once more of the treaty which they had rejected, he was ſo fond of this ſcheme, that he was ready to ſecond whatever the Emperor could propoſe to be attempted againſt that monarch. The plan, accordingly, which they concerted, was ſuch as, if it had been punctually executed, muſt have ruined France in the firſt place, and would have augmented ſo prodigiouſly the Emperor's power and territories, as might in the end have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They agreed to invade France each with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and, without loſing time in beſieging the frontier towns, to advance directly towards the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris †.

The French take the field in Piedmont.

MEANWHILE, Francis ſtood alone in oppoſition to all the enemies that Charles was muſtering againſt him. Solyman was the only ally who had not deſerted him; but the aſſiſtance he received from him had rendered him ſo odious to all Chriſtendom, that he reſolved rather to forego all the advantages of his friendſhip, than to become, on that account, the object of general horror and deteſtation. For this reaſon, he diſmiſſed Barbaroſſa as

* Dumont Corps Diplom. t. iv. p. ii. p. 274.
† Herbert 245. Bellay, 448.

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soon as winter was over, who after ravaging the coaſt of Naples and Tuſcany, returned to Conſtantinople. As Francis could not hope to equal the forces of his rival, he endeavoured to ſupply that defect by diſpatch, which was more in his power, and to get the ſtart of him in taking the field. Early in the ſpring the count d'Enguien inveſted Carignan, a town in Piedmont, which the marquis de Guaſto the Imperial general having ſurprized the former year conſidered as of ſo much importance, that he had fortified it at great expence. The count puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that Guaſto, fond of his own conqueſt, and ſeeing no other way of ſaving it from falling into the hands of the French, reſolved to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. He began his march from Milan for this purpoſe, and as he was at no pains to conceal his intention, it was ſoon known in the French camp. Enguien, a gallant and enterprizing young man, wiſhed paſſionately to try the fortune of a battle; his troops deſired it with no leſs ardour; but the peremptory injunction of the King not to venture a general engagement, flowing from a prudent attention to the preſent ſituation of affairs, as well as from the remembrance of former diſaſters, tied up his hands. Unwilling, however, to abandon Carignan, when it was juſt ready to yield, and eager to diſtinguiſh his command by ſome memorable action, he diſpatched Monluc to court in order to lay before the King the advantages of fighting the enemy, and the hopes which he had of victory. The King referred the matter to the council; all the miniſters declared, one after another, againſt fighting, and ſupported their ſentiments by reaſons extremely plauſible. While they were delivering their opinions, Monluc, who was permitted to be preſent, diſcovered ſuch viſible and extravagant ſymptoms of impatience to ſpeak, as well as ſuch diſſatisfaction with what he heard, that Francis, diverted with his appearance, called on him to declare what he could offer in reply to ſentiments which ſeemed to be as juſt as they were general. Upon this, Monluc, a plain but ſpirited ſoldier, and of known courage, repreſented the good condition of the troops, their eagerneſs to meet the enemy in the field, their confidence in their officers, together with the everlaſting infamy which the declining of a battle would bring on the French arms; and urged his arguments with ſuch lively impetuoſity, and ſuch a flow of military eloquence, as gained over to his opinion, not only the King, naturally fond of daring actions, but ſeveral

Inveſt Carignan.

The Imperialiſts march to reieve it.

veral of the council. Francis catching the ſame enthuſiaſm which had animated his troops, ſuddenly ſtarted up, and having lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the divine protection and aid, he then addreſſed himſelf to Monluc, "Go, ſays he, return to Piedmont, and fight in the name of God *." Book VII. 1544.

No ſooner was it known that the King had given Enguien leave to fight the Imperialiſts, than ſuch was the martial ardour of the gallant and high ſpirited gentlemen of that age, that the court was quite deſerted, every perſon deſirous of reputation, or capable of ſervice, hurrying to Piedmont in order to ſhare, as volunteers, in the danger and glory of the action. Encouraged by the arrival of ſo many brave officers, Enguien immediately prepared for battle, nor did Guaſto decline the combat. The number of cavalry was almoſt equal, but the imperial infantry exceeded the French by at leaſt ten thouſand men. They met near Ceriſoles, in an open plain, which afforded to neither any advantage of ground, and both had full time to form their army in proper order. The ſhock was ſuch as might have been expected between veteran troops, violent and obſtinate. The French cavalry running to the charge with their uſual vivacity bore down every thing that oppoſed them, but on the other hand, the ſteady and diſciplined valour of the Spaniſh infantry having forced the body which they encountered to give way, victory remained in ſuſpenſe, ready to declare for which ever general could make the beſt uſe of that critical moment. Guaſto, engaged in that part of his army which was thrown into diſorder, and afraid of falling into the hands of the French whoſe vengeance he dreaded on account of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſo, loſt his preſence of mind, and forgot to order a large body of reſerve to advance; whereas Enguien, with admirable courage and equal conduct, ſupported, at the head of his gens d'armes, ſuch of his battalions as began to yield; and at the ſame time he ordered the Swiſs in his ſervice, who had been victorious wherever they fought, to fall upon the Spaniards. This Motion proved deciſive. All that followed was confuſion and ſlaughter. The marquis de Guaſto wounded in the thigh, eſcaped only by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. The victory of the French was complete, ten thouſand of the Imperialiſts being ſlain, Battle of Ceriſoles. April 11.

* Memoires de Monluc.

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and a considerable number, with all their tents, baggage and artillery, taken. On the part of the conquerors, their joy was without allay, a few only being killed, and among these no officer of distinction *.

Effects of it.

This splendid action, besides the reputation with which it was attended, delivered France from an imminent danger, as it ruined the army with which Guasto had intended to invade the country between the Rhosne and Saone, where there were neither fortified towns nor regular forces to oppose his progress. But it was not in Francis's power to pursue the victory with such vigour as to reap the advantages which it might have yielded; for tho' the Milanese remained now almost defenceless; though the inhabitants, who had long murmured under the rigour of the Imperial government, were ready to throw off the yoke; though Enguien, flushed with success, urged the King to seize this happy opportunity of recovering a country, the acquisition of which had been long his favourite object; yet as the Emperor and King of England were preparing to break in upon the opposite frontier of France with such superior force, it became necessary to sacrifice all thoughts of conquest to the publick safety, and to recall twelve thousand of Enguien's best troops to be employed in defence of the kingdom. Enguien's subsequent operations were, of consequence, so languid and inconsiderable, that the reduction of Carignan and some other towns in Piedmont, was all he gained by his great victory at Cerisoles †.

Operations in the Low-Countries.

The Emperor, as usual, was late in taking the field; but he appeared, towards the beginning of June, at the head of an army more numerous, and better appointed than any which he had hitherto led against France. It amounted almost to fifty thousand men, and part of it having reduced Luxembourg and some other towns in the Netherlands, before he himself joined it, he now marched with the whole towards the frontiers of Champagne.

June.

Charles, according to his agreement with the King of England, ought to have advanced directly towards Paris; and the dauphin, who commanded the only army to which Francis trusted for the security of his dominions, was in no condition to oppose him. But the success with which the French had defended Provence in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-six, had taught them

* Bellay, 429, &c. Memoires de Monluc. Jovii hist. l. 44. p. 327. 6.
† Bellay, 438, &c.

the

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the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing an invading enemy. Champagne, a country abounding more in vines than corn, was incapable of maintaining a great army, and before the Emperor's approach, whatever could be of any uſe to him had been carried off or deſtroyed. This rendered it neceſſary for him to be maſter of ſome places of ſtrength, in order to ſecure the convoys on which alone he now perceived that he muſt depend for ſubſiſtence; and he found the frontier towns ſo ill provided for defence, that he hoped it would not be a work either of much time or difficulty to reduce them. Accordingly Ligny and Commercy, which he firſt attacked, ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance. He then inveſted St. Diſier, which, though it commanded an important paſs on the Marne, was deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege. But the count de Sancerre and M. de la Lande, who had acquired ſuch reputation by the defence of Landrecy, generouſly threw themſelves into the town, and undertook to hold it out to the laſt extremity. The Emperor ſoon found how capable they were of making good their promiſe, and that he could not expect to take the town without beſieging it in form. This accordingly he undertook; and as it was his nature never to abandon any enterprize in which he had once engaged, he perſiſted in it with an inconſiderate obſtinacy.

The Emperor inveſts St. Diſier. July 8.

The King of England's preparations for the campaign were compleat long before the Emperor's; but as he did not chooſe, on the one hand, to encounter alone the whole power of France, and was unwilling, on the other, that his troops ſhould remain unactive, he took that opportunity of chaſtiſing the Scots, by ſending his fleet, together with a conſiderable part of his infantry, under the earl of Hertford, to invade their country. Hertford executed his commiſſion with vigour, plundered and burnt Edinburgh and Leith, laid waſte the adjacent country, and reimbarked his men with ſuch diſpatch, that they joined their ſovereign ſoon after his landing in France. When Henry arrived in that kingdom, he found the Emperor engaged in the ſiege of St. Diſier; an ambaſſador, however, whom he ſent to congratulate the Engliſh Monarch on his ſafe arrival on the continent, ſolicited him to march in terms of the treaty directly to Paris. But Charles had ſet his ally ſuch an ill example of fulfilling the conditions of their confederacy with exactneſs, that Henry, obſerving him

Henry VIII. inveſts Boulogne.

July 14.

Book VII. 1544.

employ his time and forces in taking towns for his own behoof, ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould not attempt the reduction of ſome places that lay conveniently for himſelf. Without paying any regard to the Emperor's remonſtrances, he immediately inveſted Boulogne, and commanded the Duke of Norfolk to preſs the ſiege of Montreuil, which had been begun before his arrival, by a body of Flemings, in conjunction with ſome Engliſh troops. While Charles and Henry ſhewed ſuch attention each to his own intereſt, they both neglected the common cauſe; and, inſtead of the union and confidence requiſite towards conducting the great plan they had formed, they early diſcovered a mutual jealouſy of each other, which, by degrees, begot diſtruſt, and ended in open hatred †.

Gallant defence of St. Diſier.

MEANWHILE, Francis had, with unwearied induſtry, drawn together an army capable, as well from the number as from the valour of the troops, of making head againſt the enemy. But the dauphin, who ſtill acted as general, prudently declining a battle, the loſs of which would have endangered the kingdom, ſatisfied himſelf with haraſſing the Emperor with his light troops, cutting off his convoys, and laying waſte the country around him. Though extremely diſtreſſed by theſe operations, Charles ſtill preſſed the ſiege of St. Diſier, which Sancerre defended with aſtoniſhing fortitude and conduct. He ſtood repeated aſſaults, repulſing the enemy in them all; and undiſmayed even by the death of the brave de la Lande, who was killed by a cannon ball, he continued to ſhew the ſame bold countenance and obſtinate reſolution. At the end of five weeks, he was ſtill capable of holding out ſome time longer, when an artifice of Granvelle's induced him to ſurrender. That crafty politician, having intercepted the key to the cypher which the Duke of Guiſe uſed in communicating intelligence to Sancerre, forged a letter in his name authorizing Sancerre to capitulate, as the King, though highly ſatisfied with his behaviour, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle for his relief. This letter he conveyed into the town in a manner which could raiſe no ſuſpicion, and the governor fell into the ſnare. Even then, he obtained ſuch honourable conditions as his gallant defence merited, and among others a ceſſation of hoſtilities for eight days, at the expi-

† Herbert.

ration

ration of which he bound himſelf to open the gates, if Francis, during that time, did not attack the Imperial army, and throw freſh troops into the town *. Thus Sancerre, by detaining the Emperor ſo long before an inconſiderable place, afforded his ſovereign full time to aſſemble all his forces, and, what rarely falls to an officer in ſuch an inferior command, acquired the glory of having ſaved his country.

August 17. The Emperor penetrates into the heart of France.

As ſoon as St. Diſier ſurrendered, the Emperor advanced into the heart of Champagne, but Sancerre's obſtinate reſiſtance had damped his ſanguine hopes of penetrating to Paris, and led him ſeriouſly to reflect on what he might expect before towns of greater ſtrength, and defended by more numerous garriſons. At the ſame time, the procuring ſubſiſtence for his army was attended with great difficulty, which increaſed in proportion as he withdrew from his own frontier. He had loſt a great number of his beſt troops in the ſiege of St. Diſier, and many fell daily in ſkirmiſhes, which it was not in his power to avoid, though they waſted his army inſenſibly, without leading to any deciſive action. The ſeaſon advanced apace, and he had not yet the command either of a ſufficient extent of territory, or of any ſuch conſiderable town as rendered it ſafe to winter in the enemies country. Great arrears too, were due to his ſoldiers, who were upon the point of mutinying for their pay, while he knew not from what funds to ſatisfy them. All theſe conſiderations induced him to liſten to the overtures of peace which a Spaniſh Dominican, the confeſſor of his ſiſter the Queen of France, had ſecretly made to his confeſſor, a monk of the ſame order. In conſequence of this, plenipotentiaries were named on both ſides, and began their conferences in Chauſſé, a ſmall village near Chalons. At the ſame time, Charles, either from a deſire of making one great final effort againſt France, or merely to gain a pretext for deſerting his ally and concluding a ſeparate peace, ſent an ambaſſador formally to require Henry, according to the ſtipulation in their treaty, to advance towards Paris. While he expected a return from him, and waited the iſſue of the conference at Chauſſé, he continued to march forward, though in the utmoſt diſtreſs from ſcarcity of proviſions. But at laſt, by a fortunate motion on his part, or through ſome neglect or treachery on that of the

* Brantome, tom. vi. 489.

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French, he ſurprized firſt Eſpernay and then Chateau Thierry, in both which were conſiderable magazines. No ſooner was it known that theſe towns, the latter of which is not two days march from Paris, were in the hands of the enemy, than that great capital, defenceleſs, and ſuſceptible of any violent alarm in proportion to its greatneſs, was filled with conſternation. The inhabitants, as if the Emperor had been already at their gates, fled in the wildeſt confuſion and deſpair, many ſending their wives and children down the Seine to Rouën, others to Orleans, and the towns upon the Loire. Francis himſelf, more afflicted with this, than with any other event during his reign, and ſenſible as well of the triumph his rival would enjoy in inſulting his capital, as of the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed, could not refrain, in the firſt emotion of his ſurprize and ſorrow, from crying out, "How dear, O my God, do I pay for this crown, which I thought thou hadſt granted me freely *." But recovering in a moment from this ſudden ſally of peeviſhneſs and impatience, he devoutly added, "Thy will, however, be done;" and proceeded to iſſue the neceſſary orders for oppoſing the enemy with his uſual compoſure and preſence of mind. The dauphin detached eight thouſand men to Paris, which revived the courage of the affrighted citizens; he threw a ſtrong garriſon into Meaux, and by a forced march got into Ferte, between the Imperialiſts and the capital.

Obliged to retire.

Upon this, the Emperor, who began again to feel the want of proviſions, perceiving that the dauphin ſtill prudently declined a battle, and not daring to attack his camp with forces ſo much ſhattered and reduced by hard ſervice, turned ſuddenly to the right, and began to fall back towards Soiſſons. Having about this time received Henry's anſwer whereby he refuſed to abandon the ſieges of Boulogne and Montreuil, of both which he expected every moment to get poſſeſſion, he thought himſelf abſolved from all obligations of adhering to the treaty with him, and at full liberty to conſult his own intereſt in what manner ſoever he pleaſed. He conſented, therefore, to renew the conference, which the ſurprize of Eſpernay had broke off. To conclude a peace between two princes, one of whom greatly deſired, and the other greatly needed it, did not require a long negotiation. It was ſigned

Peace between him and Francis concluded at Creſpy.

* Brantome, tom. 6. 381.

at Creſpy, a ſmall town near Meaux, on the eigthteenth of September. The chief articles of it were, That all the conqueſts which either party had made ſince the truce of Nice ſhall be reſtored; that the Emperor ſhall give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldeſt daughter, or the ſecond daughter of his brother Ferdinand; that if he choſe to beſtow on him his own daughter, he ſhall ſettle on her all the provinces of the Low-Countries, to be erected into an independent ſtate, which ſhall deſcend to the male iſſue of the marriage; that if he determined to give his niece, he ſhall, with her, grant him the inveſtiture of Milan and its dependencies; that he ſhall within four months declare which of theſe two princeſſes he had pitched upon, and fulfil the reſpective conditions upon the conſummation of the marriage, which ſhall take place within a year from the date of the treaty; that as ſoon as the Duke of Orleans is put in poſſeſſion either of the Low-Countries or of Milan, Francis ſhall reſtore to the Duke of Savoy all that he now poſſeſſes of his territories, except Pignerol and Montmilian; that Francis ſhall renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, or to the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles ſhall give up his claim to the dutchy of Burgundy and county of Charolois; that Francis ſhall give no aid to the exiled King of Navarre; that both Monarchs ſhall join in making war upon the Turk, towards which the King ſhall furniſh, when required by the Emperor and Empire, ſix hundred men at arms, and ten thouſand foot *.

Motives of concluding it.

Besides the immediate motives to this peace ariſing from the diſtreſs of his army through want of proviſions; from the difficulty of retreating out of France; and the impoſſibility of ſecuring winter quarters there; the Emperor was influenced by other conſiderations, more diſtant, indeed, but not leſs weighty. The Pope was offended to a great degree, as well at his conceſſions to the Proteſtants in the late diet, as at his conſenting to call a council, and to admit of public diſputations in Germany with a view of determining the doctrines in controverſy; and conſidering both theſe ſteps as ſacrilegious encroachments on the juriſdiction as well as privileges of the Holy ſee, he had addreſſed to him a remonſtrance rather than a

* Recueil des Traitez, t. i. 227. Belius de cauſis Pacis Crepiac. in Actis Erudit. Lipſ. 1763.

letter

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letter on this ſubject, written with ſuch acrimony of language, and in a ſtile of ſuch high authority, as diſcovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel than of a deſire to reclaim him. This ill humour was not a little enflamed by the Emperor's league with Henry, which being contracted with an heretick, excommunicated by the apoſtolic ſee, appeared to the Pope a profane alliance, and was not leſs dreaded by him, than that of Francis with Solyman. Paul's ſon and grandſon, highly incenſed at the Emperor for having refuſed to gratify them with regard to the alienation of Parma and Placentia, contributed by their infuſions to ſour and diſguſt him ſtill more. To all which was added the powerful operation of the flattery and promiſes which Francis inceſſantly employed to gain him. Though from his deſire of maintaining a neutrality, the Pope had hitherto ſuppreſſed his own reſentment, had eluded the artifices of his own family, and reſiſted the ſolicitations of the French King, it was not ſafe to rely much on the ſteddineſs of a man whom his paſſions, his friends, and his intereſt combined to ſhake. The union of the Pope with France, Charles well knew would inſtantly expoſe his dominions in Italy to be attacked. The Venetians he foreſaw, would probably follow the example of a Pontiff, who was conſidered as a model of political wiſdom among the Italians; and thus at a juncture when he felt himſelf ſcarce equal to the burden of the preſent war, he would be overwhelmed with the weight of a new confederacy againſt him *. At the ſame time, the Turks, almoſt unreſiſted, made ſuch progreſs in Hungary, reducing town after town, that they approached near to the confines of the Auſtrian provinces †. Above all theſe, the extraordinary progreſs of the Proteſtant doctrines in Germany, and the dangerous combination into which the Princes of that profeſſion had entered, called for his immediate attention. Almoſt one half of Germany had revolted from the eſtabliſhed church; the fidelity of the reſt was much ſhaken; the nobility of Auſtria had demanded of Ferdinand the free exerciſe of religion ‡; the Bohemians, among whom ſome ſeeds of the doctrines of Huſs ſtill remained, openly favoured the new opinions; the archbiſhop of Cologne, with a zeal rare among eccleſiaſticks, had begun the reformation of his

* F. Paul, 100. Pallavic, 163. † Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Hung. 177.
‡ Sleid. 285.

dioceſe;

dioceſe; nor was it poſſible, unleſs ſome timely and effectual check were given to the ſpirit of innovation, to foreſee where it would end. He himſelf had been a witneſs, in the late diet, to the preremptory and deciſive tone which the Proteſtants had now aſſumed; and had ſeen how, from confidence in their number and union, they had forgotten the humble ſtile of their firſt petitions, having grown to ſuch boldneſs as openly to deſpiſe the Pope, and to ſhew no great reverence for the Imperial dignity itſelf. If, therefore, he wiſhed to maintain either the ancient religion, or his own authority, and would not chooſe to dwindle into a mere nominal head of the Empire, ſome vigorous effort was requiſite, which could not be made during a war that required the greateſt exertion of his ſtrength againſt a foreign and powerful enemy.

SUCH being the Emperor's inducements to peace, he had the addreſs to frame the treaty of Creſpy ſo as to promote all the ends which he had in view. By coming to an agreement with Francis, he took from the Pope all proſpect of advantage in courting the friendſhip of that Monarch in preference to his. By the proviſo with regard to a war with the Turks, he not only deprived Soliman of a powerful ally, but turned the arms of that ally againſt him. By a private article, not inſerted in the treaty, that it might not raiſe any unſeaſonable alarm, he agreed with Francis that both ſhould exert all their influence and power in order to procure a general council, to aſſert its authority, and to exterminate the proteſtant hereſy out of their dominions. This cut off all hopes of aſſiſtance which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French King *; and leſt their ſolicitations, or his jealouſy of an ancient rival, ſhould hereafter tempt Francis to forget this engagement, he left him embarraſſed with a war againſt England, which would put it out of his power to take any part in the affairs of Germany.

War continues between France and England.

HENRY, poſſeſſed at all times with an high idea of his own power and importance, felt, in the moſt ſenſible manner, the neglect with which the Emperor had treated him in concluding a ſeparate peace. But the ſituation of his affairs was ſuch as ſomewhat alleviated the mortification which this occaſioned. For though he was obliged to recall the Duke of Norfolk from the ſiege of Montreuil, becauſe the Flemiſh troops received orders to re-

Septem. 14.

* Seck. l. iii. 496.

tire,

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tire, Boulogne had ſurrendered before the negotiations at Creſpy were brought to an iſſue. While elated with vanity on account of this conqueſt, and inflamed with indignation againſt the Emperor, the ambaſſadors whom Francis ſent to make overtures of Peace found him too arrogant to grant what was moderate or equitable. His demands were indeed extravagant, and made in the tone of a conqueror; that Francis ſhould renounce his alliance with Scotland, and not only pay up the arrears of former debts, but reimburſe the money which he had expended in the preſent war. Francis though ſincerely deſirous of peace, and willing to yield a great deal in order to obtain it, being now free from the preſſure of the imperial arms, rejected theſe ignominious propoſitions with diſdain; and Henry departing for England, hoſtilities continued between the two nations *.

The dauphin diſſatisfied with the peace of Creſpy.

THE treaty of peace, how acceptable ſoever to the people of France, whom it delivered from the dread of an enemy who had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, was loudly complained of by the dauphin. He conſidered it as a manifeſt proof of the King his father's extraordinary partiality towards his younger brother, now Duke of Orleans, and complained that from his eagerneſs to gain an eſtabliſhment for a favourite ſon, he had ſacrificed the honour of the kingdom, and renounced the moſt ancient and valuable rights of the crown. But as he durſt not venture to offend the King by refuſing to ratify it, though extremely deſirous at the ſame time of ſecuring to himſelf the privilege of reclaiming what was now alienated ſo much to his detriment, he ſecretly proteſted, in preſence of ſome of his adherents, againſt the whole tranſaction; and declared whatever he ſhould be obliged to do in order to confirm it, null in itſelf, and void of all obligation. The parliament of Thouloufe, probably by the inſtigation of his partizans, did the ſame †. But Francis, highly pleaſed as well with having delivered his ſubjects from the miſeries of an invaſion, as with the proſpect of acquiring an independent ſettlement for his ſon at no greater price than the renouncing conqueſts to which he had no juſt claim; titles which had hitherto proved the ſource of expence or diſaſters to the nation; and rights grown to be obſolete and of no value;

* Mem. de Ribier, t. i. p. 572. Herbert, 244.
† Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 235, 238.

ratified

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ratified the treaty with great joy. Charles, within the time prescribed by the treaty, declared his intention of giving Ferdinand's daughter in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, together with the dutchy of Milan as her dowry *. Every circumstance seemed to promise the continuance of peace. The Emperor, cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterprize where great activity was requisite, or much fatigue to be endured. He himself felt this, or wished at least that it should be believed; and being so much disabled by this excruciating distemper, when a French ambassador followed him to Brussels in order to be present at his ratification of the treaty of peace, that it was with the utmost difficulty he signed his name, he observed, that there was no great danger of his violating these articles, as a hand that could scarce hold a pen, was little able to brandish a lance.

The Emperor's schemes with respect to Germany.

The violence of his disease confined the Emperor several months in Brussels, and was the apparent cause of putting off the execution of the vast schemes which he had formed in order to humble the Protestant party in Germany. But there were other reasons for this delay. For, how prevalent soever the motives were which determined him to undertake this enterprize, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the situation of his own affairs, made it necessary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not to throw aside too suddenly the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real sentiments and schemes. He was sensible that the Protestants, conscious of their own strength, but under continual apprehensions of his designs, had all the boldness of a powerful party, and all the jealousy of a feeble faction; and were no less quick-sighted to discern the first appearance of danger, than ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the same time, he continued involved in a Turkish war; and though, in order to deliver himself from this incumbrance, he had determined to send an envoy to the Porte with most advantageous and even submissive overtures of peace, the resolutions of that haughty court were so uncertain, that, before these were known, it would have been the height of imprudence to have kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions.

* Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 238.

Upon

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1544. The Pope ſummonſes a general council to meet at Trent. Novem. 19.

Upon this account, he appeared diſſatisfied with a bull iſſued by the Pope immediately after the peace of Creſpy, ſummoning the council to aſſemble at Trent early next ſpring, and exhorting all Chriſtian Princes to embrace the opportunity that the preſent happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of ſuppreſſing thoſe hereſies which threatened to ſubvert whatever was ſacred or venerable, among Chriſtians. But after ſuch a ſlight expreſſion of diſlike as was neceſſary in order to cover his deſigns, he determined to countenance the council, which might become no inconſiderable inſtrument towards accompliſhing his projects, and therefore not only appointed ambaſſadors to appear there in his name, but ordered the eccleſiaſticks in his dominions to attend at the time prefixed *.

1545. Diet at Worms. March 24.

Such were the Emperor's views, when the Imperial diet, after ſeveral prorogations, was opened at Worms. The Proteſtants, who enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion by a very precarious tenure, having no other ſecurity for it than the receſs of the laſt diet, which was to continue in force only until the meeting of a council, wiſhed earneſtly to eſtabliſh that important privilege upon ſome firmer baſis, and to hold it by a perpetual not a temporary title. But, inſtead of offering them any additional ſecurity, Ferdinand opened the diet with obſerving, that there were two points, chiefly, which required conſideration, the proſecution of the war againſt the Turks, and the ſtate of religion; that the former was the moſt urgent, as Solyman, after conquering the greateſt part of Hungary, was now ready to fall upon the Auſtrian provinces; that the Emperor, who, from the beginning of his reign, had neglected no opportunity of annoying this formidable enemy, and with the hazard of his own perſon had reſiſted his attacks, being animated ſtill with the ſame zeal, had now conſented to ſtop ſhort in the career of his ſucceſs againſt France, that, in conjunction with his ancient rival, he might turn his arms with greater vigour againſt the common adverſary of the Chriſtian faith; that it became all the members of the Empire to ſecond theſe pious endeavours of its head; that, therefore, they ought, without delay, to vote him ſuch effectual aid as both their duty and their intereſt called upon them to furniſh; that the controverſies about religion were ſo intricate, and of ſuch difficult diſcuſſion, as to give no

* F. Paul, 104.

hope

hope of its being poſſible to bring them at preſent to any final iſſue; that by perſeverance and repeated ſolicitations the Emperor had at length prevailed on the Pope to call a council, for which they had ſo often wiſhed and petitioned; that the time appointed for its meeting was now come, and both parties ought to wait for its decrees, and ſubmit to them as the deciſions of the univerſal church.

1545. Ferdinand requires the Germans to acknowledge the council.

THE popiſh members of the diet received this declaration with great applauſe, and ſignified their entire acquieſcence in every particular which it contained. The Proteſtants expreſſed great ſurprize at propoſitions, which were ſo manifeſtly repugnant to the receſs of the former diet; they inſiſted that the queſtions with regard to religion, as firſt in dignity and importance, ought to come firſt under deliberation; that alarming as the progreſs of the Turks was to all Germany, the ſecuring the free exerciſe of their religion touched them ſtill more nearly, nor could they proſecute a foreign war with ſpirit, while ſolicitous and concerned about their domeſtic tranquillity; that if the latter were once rendered firm and permanent, they would concur with their countrymen in puſhing the former, and yield to none of them in activity or zeal. But if the danger from the Turkiſh arms was indeed ſo imminent, as not to admit of ſuch a delay as would be occaſioned by an immediate examination of the controverted points in religion, they required that a diet ſhould be inſtantly appointed, to which the final ſettlement of their religious diſputes ſhould be referred; and that in the mean time the decree of the former diet concerning religion ſhould be explained in a point which they deemed eſſential. By the receſs of Spires it was provided, that they ſhould enjoy unmoleſted the public exerciſe of their religion, until the meeting of a legal council; but as the Pope had now called a council, to which Ferdinand had required them to ſubmit, they began to ſuſpect that their adverſaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the receſs, and pretending that the event therein mentioned had taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the ſame indulgence. In order to guard againſt this interpretation, they renewed their former remonſtrances againſt a council called to meet without the bounds of the Empire, ſummoned by the Pope's authority, and in which he aſſumed the right of preſiding; and declared that, notwithſtanding the convocation of

Book VII. of any ſuch illegal aſſembly, they ſtill held the receſs of the late diet to be in full force.

1545. Emperor arrives at Worms.

At other junctures, when the Emperor thought it of advantage to ſooth and gain the Proteſtants, he had deviſed expedients for giving them ſatisfaction with regard to demands ſeemingly more extravagant; but his views at preſent being very different, Ferdinand by his command adhered inflexibly to his firſt propoſitions, and would make no conceſſions which had the moſt remote tendency to throw diſcredit on the council, or to weaken its authority. The Proteſtants on their part, were no leſs inflexible; and after much time ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to convince each other, they came to no concluſion.

May 15. Nor did the preſence of the Emperor, who upon his recovery arrived at Worms, contribute in any degree to render the Proteſtants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cauſe of God and of truth, they ſhewed themſelves ſuperior to the allurements of intereſt, or the ſuggeſtions of fear; and in proportion as the Emperor redoubled his ſolicitations, or diſcovered his deſigns, their boldneſs ſeems to have increaſed. At laſt they openly declared, that they would not even deign to vindicate their tenets in preſence of a council, aſſembled not to examine, but to condemn them; and that they would pay no regard to an aſſembly held under the influence of a Pope, who had already precluded himſelf from all title to act as a judge, by his having ſtigmatized their opinions with the name of hereſy, and denounced againſt them the heavieſt cenſures, which, in the plenitude of his uſurped power, he could inflict *.

The Proteſtants diſclaim all connection with the council of Trent.

Conduct of Maurice of Saxony in this diet.

While the Proteſtants, with ſuch union as well as firmneſs, rejected all intercourſe with the council, and refuſed their aſſent to the Imperial demands in reſpect to the Turkiſh war, Maurice of Saxony alone ſhewed an inclination to gratify the Emperor with regard to both. Though he profeſſed an inviolable regard for the Proteſtant religion, he aſſumed an appearance of moderation peculiar to himſelf, by which he confirmed the favourable ſentiments that the Emperor already entertained of him, and gradually paved the way for executing the ambitious deſigns which always occupied his active and enterprizing mind †. His example, however, had little influence up-

* Sleid. 343, &c. Seck. iii. 543, &c. Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. ii. p. 56.
† Seck. iii. 571.

on

on ſuch as agreed with him in their religious opinions; and Charles perceived that he could not hope either to procure preſent aid from the Proteſtants againſt the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealouſies on account of their religion. But as his ſchemes were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations ſo far advanced that he could force their compliance, or puniſh their obſtinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions; and that he might augment their ſecurity, he appointed a diet to be held at Ratiſbon early next year, in order to adjuſt what was now left undetermined; and previous to it, he agreed that a certain number of divines of each party ſhould meet, in order to confer upon the points in diſpute *. Book VII. 1545. Auguſt 4.

The Proteſtants begin to ſuſpect the Emperor.

But how far ſoever this appearance of a deſire to maintain the preſent tranquillity might have impoſed upon the Proteſtants, the Emperor was incapable of ſuch uniform and thorough diſſimulation, as to hide altogether from their view the dangerous deſigns which he was meditating againſt them. Herman count de Wied, Archbiſhop and Elector of Cologn, a prelate conſpicuous for his virtue and primitive ſimplicity of manners, though not more diſtinguiſhed for learning than the other deſcendants of noble families, who in that age poſſeſſed moſt of the great benefices in Germany, having become a proſelyte to the doctrines of the Reformers, had begun in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-three, with the aſſiſtance of Melancthon and Bucer, to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtition in his dioceſe, and to introduce in its place the rites eſtabliſhed among the Proteſtants. But the canons of his cathedral who were not poſſeſſed with the ſame ſpirit of innovation, and who foreſaw how fatal the levelling genius of the new ſect would prove to their dignity and wealth, oppoſed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterprize of their archbiſhop with all the zeal flowing from reverence for old inſtitutions, heightened by concern for their own intereſt. This oppoſition, which the Archbiſhop conſidered only as a new argument to demonſtrate the neceſſity of a reformation, neither ſhook his reſolution nor ſlackened his ardour in proſecuting his plan. The canons, perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, ſolemnly proteſted againſt his proceedings, and appealed for redreſs to the Pope and Emperor, the former as his eccleſiaſtical, the latter as his

* Sleid. 351.

Book VII. civil ſuperior. This appeal being laid before the Emperor, during his reſidence in Worms, he took the canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour againſt all who revolted from the eſtabliſhed church; prohibited the Archbiſhop to make any innovation in his dioceſe; and ſummoned him to appear at Bruſſels within thirty days, to anſwer the accuſations which ſhould be preferred againſt him *.

1545.

To this clear evidence of his hoſtile intentions againſt the Proteſtant party, Charles added other proofs ſtill more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low-Countries, he perſecuted all who were ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm with unrelenting vigour. As ſoon as he arrived at Worms, he ſilenced the Proteſtant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh againſt the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that peſtilent hereſy. He diſpatched the embaſſy, which has been already mentioned, to Conſtantinople, with overtures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehenſions of danger or interruption from that quarter. Nor did any of theſe ſteps, or their dangerous tendency, eſcape the jealous obſervation of the Proteſtants, or fail to alarm their fears, and to excite their ſolicitude for the ſafety of their ſect.

Death of the Duke of Orleans.

Meanwhile Charles's good fortune which predominated on all occaſions over that of his rival Francis, extricated him out of a difficulty, from which, with all his ſagacity and addreſs, he would have found it no eaſy matter to have diſentangled himſelf. Juſt about the time when the Duke of Orleans ſhould have received Ferdinand's daughter in marriage, and together with her the poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, he died of a peſtilential fever. By this event, the Emperor was freed from the neceſſity of giving up an important province into the hands of an enemy, or from the indecency of violating a recent and ſolemn engagement, which muſt have occaſioned an immediate rupture with France. He affected, however, to expreſs great ſorrow for the untimely death of a young prince, who was to have been ſo nearly allied to him; but he carefully avoided entering into any freſh diſcuſſions concerning the Milaneſe, and would not liſten to a propoſal which came from Francis of new modelling the trea-

Sept.

* Sleid. 310, 342, 351. Seckend. iii. 443, 553.

ty of Creſpy, ſo as to make him ſome reparation for the advantages which he had loſt by the demiſe of his ſon. In the more active and vigorous part of Francis's reign, a declaration of war would have been the certain and inſtantaneous conſequence of ſuch a flat refuſal to comply with a demand ſeemingly ſo equitable; but the declining ſtate of his own health, the exhauſted condition of his kingdoms, together with the burden of the war againſt England, obliged him, at preſent, to diſſemble his reſentment, and to put off thoughts of revenge to ſome other juncture. In conſequence of this event, the unfortunate Duke of Savoy loſt all hope of obtaining the reſtitution of his territories; and the rights or claims relinquiſhed by the treaty of Creſpy, returned in full force to the crown of France, to ſerve as pretexts for future wars *.

Upon the firſt intelligence of the Duke of Orleans's death, the Confederates of Smalkalde flattered themſelves that the eſſential alterations which it occaſioned could ſcarce fail of producing a rupture, which would prove the means of their ſafety. But they were not more diſappointed with regard to this, than in their expectations from an event which ſeemed to be the certain prelude of a quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. Paul, whoſe paſſion for aggrandizing his family, increaſed as he advanced in years, and as he ſaw the dignity and power which they derived immediately from him becoming more precarious, finding that he could not bring the Emperor to approve of his ambitious ſchemes, ventured, though at the riſque of incurring his diſpleaſure, to grant his ſon Peter Lewis the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia. At a time when a great part of Europe inveighed openly againſt the corrupt manners and exorbitant power of Eccleſiaſtics, and when a council was ſummoned to reform the diſorders in the church, this indecent grant of ſuch a principality to a ſon of whoſe illegitimate birth the Pope ought to have been aſhamed, and whoſe licentious morals all good men deteſted, gave general offence. Some Cardinals in the Imperial intereſt remonſtrated againſt ſuch an unbecoming alienation of the patrimony of the church; the Spaniſh ambaſſador would not be preſent at the ſolemnity of his enfeofment; and the Emperor peremptorily refuſed, upon pretext that theſe cities were part of the Milaneſe ſtate, to confirm the deed of inveſtiture. But both the Emperor and Pope being intent upon one common ob-

The Pope grants the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to his ſon.

* Belcarii Comment. 769. Paruta, Hiſt. Venet. iv, p. 177.

Book VII. 1545.

ject in Germany, sacrificed their particular passions to that public cause, and suppressed the emotions of jealousy or resentment which were rising on this occasion, that they might jointly pursue what each esteemed of greater importance *.

Henry of Brunswick kindles a war in Germany.

About this time the peace of Germany was disturbed by a violent but short eruption of Henry Duke of Brunswick. This Prince, though still stript of his dominions, which the Emperor held in sequestration, until his differences with the confederates of Smalkalde should be adjusted, possessed however so much credit in Germany that he undertook to raise for the French King a considerable body of troops to be employed in the war against England. The money stipulated for this purpose was duly advanced by Francis; the troops were levied; but Henry, instead of leading them towards France, suddenly entered his own dominions at their head, in hopes of recovering them before any army could be assembled to oppose him. The confederates were not more surprized at this unexpected attack, than the King of France was astonished at a mean thievish fraud so unbecoming the character of a Prince. But the Landgrave of Hesse, with incredible expedition, collected as many men as put a stop to the progress of Henry's undisciplined forces, and being joined by his son-in-law Maurice, and some of the troops of the Elector of Saxony, he gained such advantagees over Henry, who was rash and bold in forming his schemes, but feeble and undetermined in executing them, as obliged him to disband his army, and to surrender himself together with his eldest son prisoners at discretion He was kept in close confinement, until a new reverse of affairs procured him liberty †.

1546. The Reformation of the Palatinate.

As this defeat of Henry's wild enterprize added new reputation to the arms of the Protestants, the reformation of the Palatinate brought a great accession of strength to their party. Frederick, who succeeded his brother Lewis in that Electorate, had long been suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrines of the Reformers, which upon his accession to the principality he openly manifested. But as he expected that something effectual towards a general and legal establishment of religion would be the fruit of so many diets, conferences, and negotiations, he did not,

* Paruta, Hist. Venet. iv. 178. Pallavic. 180.
† Sleid. 352. Seck. iii. 567.

at

at first, attempt any public innovations in his dominions. Finding all these issue in nothing, he thought himself called, at length, to countenance by his authority the system which he approved of, and to gratify the wishes of his subjects, who by their intercourse with the Protestant states had universally imbibed their opinions. As the warmth and impetuosity which accompanied the spirit of Reformation in its first efforts had somewhat abated, this change was made with great order and regularity; the ancient rights were abolished, and new forms introduced without any act of violence, or symptom of discontent. Though Frederick adopted the religious system of the Protestants, he imitated the example of Maurice, and did not accede to the league of Smalkalde *.

1546. June 10.

A FEW weeks before this revolution in the Palatinate, the general council was opened with the accustomed solemnities at Trent. The eyes of the Catholick states were turned with much expectation towards an assembly, which all had considered as a natural and adequate remedy for the disorders of the church when they first broke out, though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being suffered to make progress during twenty eight years, had become inveterate, and grown to such extreme violence. The Pope, by his last bull of convocation, had appointed the first meeting to be held in March. But his views and those of the Emperor were so different, that almost the whole year was spent in negotiations. Charles, who foresaw that the rigorous decrees of the council against the Protestants would soon drive them, in self-defence as well as from resentment, to some desperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were so far advanced, that he might be in a condition to second its decisions by the force of his arms. The Pope, who had early sent to Trent the legates who were to preside in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expose his authority, and what suspicions it would beget of his intentions, if the fathers of the council should remain in a state of inactivity, when the church was in such danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interposition, insisted either upon translating the council to some city in Italy, or upon suspending its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authorising it to begin its deli-

The council assembles at Trent.

* Sleid. 356. Seck. l. iii. 616.

 berations

Book VII. 1546.

berations immediately. The Emperor rejected the two former as equally offenſive to the Germans of every denomination, but finding it impoſſible to elude the latter, he propoſed that the council ſhould begin with reforming the diſorders in the church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of Faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded moſt, and which had prompted it to employ ſo many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of ſuch a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than ſome of his predeceſſors with regard to calling a council, was no leſs jealous than they had been of its juriſdiction, and ſaw what matter of triumph ſuch a method of proceeding would afford the heretics. He apprehended conſequences not only humbling but fatal to the papal ſee, if the council came to conſider an inqueſt into abuſes as their only buſineſs; or if inferior prelates were allowed to gratify their own envy and peeviſhneſs by preſcribing rules to thoſe who were exalted above them in dignity and power. Without liſtening, therefore, to this inſidious propoſal of the Emperor, he inſtructed his legates to open the council.

Jan. 18. Its proceedings.

The firſt ſeſſion was ſpent in matters of form. In a ſubſequent one, it was agreed that the framing of a confeſſion of faith, containing all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the firſt and principal buſineſs of the council; but that at the ſame time, it ſhould give attention to what was neceſſary towards the reformation of manners and diſcipline. From this firſt ſymptom of the ſpirit with which the council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the legates who preſided in it aſſumed, and from the implicit deference with which moſt of the members followed their directions, the Proteſtants conjectured with eaſe what deciſions they might expect. It aſtoniſhed them, however, to ſee forty prelates, (for no greater number was yet aſſembled) aſſume authority as repreſentatives of the univerſal church, and proceed to determine the moſt important points of doctrine in its name. Senſible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the council advanced ſlowly in its deliberations, and all its proceedings were for ſome time languiſhing and feeble *. As ſoon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the coun-

* F. Paul 129, &c. Pallavic. p. 180, &c.

cil,

cil, they publiſhed a long manifeſto containing a renewal of their proteſt againſt its meeting, together with the reaſons which induced them to decline its juriſdiction *. The Pope and Emperor, meanwhile, were ſo little ſolicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly diſcovered that ſome object of greater importance occupied and intereſted them. Book VII. 1546.

Apprehenſions of the Proteſtants.

THE Proteſtants, as they were not inattentive or unconcerned ſpectators of their motions, entertained every day more violent ſuſpicions of their intentions, and received intelligence from different quarters of the machinations carrying on againſt them. The King of England informed them, that the Emperor having long reſolved to exterminate their opinions, would not fail to employ this interval of tranquillity which he now enjoyed, as the moſt favourable juncture for carrying his deſign into execution. The merchants of Augſburg, which was at that time a city of extenſive trade, received advice by means of their correſpondents in Italy, among whom were ſome who ſecretly favoured the Proteſtant cauſe, § that a dangerous confederacy againſt it was forming between the Pope and Emperor. In confirmation of this, they heard from the Low-Countries that Charles had iſſued orders, though with every precaution which could keep the meaſure concealed, for raiſing troops both there and in other parts of his dominions. Such a variety of information, corroborating all that their own jealouſy or obſervation led them to apprehend, left the Proteſtants little reaſon to doubt of the Emperor's hoſtile intentions.

Their deliberations.

Under this impreſſion, the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde aſſembled at Francfort, and by communicating their intelligence and ſentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their ſenſe of the impending danger. But their union was not ſuch as their ſituation required, or the preparations of their enemies rendered neceſſary. Their league had now ſubſiſted ten years. Among ſo many members whoſe territories were intermingled with each other, and who, according to the cuſtom of Germany, had created an infinite variety of mutual rights and claims by intermarriages, alliances, and contracts of different kinds, ſubjects of jealouſy and diſcord had unavoidably ariſen. Some of the confederates, being connected with the Duke of Brunſwick, were highly diſ-

* Seekend. l. iii. 602, &c. § Seck. l. iii. 579.

Book VII. 1546. gusted with the Landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that rash but unfortunate Prince. Others taxed the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unnecessary and exorbitant expences by their profuseness or want of oeconomy. The views, likewise, of these two great Princes, who, by their superior power and authority, influenced and directed the whole body, being extremely different, rendered all its motions languid, at a time when the utmost vigour and dispatch were requisite. The Landgrave, of a violent and enterprizing temper, but not forgetful, amidst his zeal for religion, of the usual maxims of human policy, insisted that the danger which threatened them, being manifest and unavoidable, they should have recourse to the most effectual expedient for securing their own safety, by courting the protection of the Kings of France and England, or by joining in alliance with the protestant cantons of Switzerland, from whom they might expect such powerful and present assistance as their situation demanded. The Elector on the other hand, with the most upright intentions of any Prince in that age, and with talents which might have qualified him abundantly for the administration of government in any tranquil period, was possessed with such superstitious veneration for all the parts of the Lutheran system, and such bigotted attachment to all its tenets, as made him averse to an union with those who differed from him in any article of faith, and rendered him very incapable of undertaking its defence in times of difficulty and danger. He seemed to think, that the concerns of religion were to be regulated entirely by principles and maxims different from those which apply to the common affairs of life; and being swayed too much by the opinions of Luther who was not only a stranger to the rules of political conduct, but despised them; he often discovered an uncomplying spirit which proved of the greatest detriment to the cause that he wished to support. Influenced, on this occasion, by the severe and rigid notions of that Reformer, he refused to enter into any confederacy with Francis, because he was a persecutor of the truth; or to solicit the friendship of Henry, because he was no less impious and profane than the Pope himself; or even to join in alliance with the Swiss, because they differed from him in several essential articles of faith. This dissention, about a point of

such

ſuch conſequence, produced its natural effects. Each ſecretly cenſured and reproached the other. The Landgrave conſidered the Elector as fettered by narrow prejudices unworthy of a Prince called to act a chief part in a ſcene of ſuch importance. The Elector ſuſpected him of looſe principles and ambitious views, which correſponded ill with the ſacred cauſe in which they were engaged. But though the Elector's ſcruples prevented their timely application for foreign aid; and the jealouſy or diſcontent of the other princes defeated a propoſal for renewing their original confederacy, the term during which it was to continue in force being on the point of expiring; yet the ſenſe of their common danger induced them to agree with regard to other points, particularly that they would never acknowledge the aſſembly at Trent as a lawful council, nor ſuffer the Archbiſhop of Cologne to be oppreſſed on account of the ſteps which he had taken towards the reformation of his dioceſe *.

The negotiations with the Emperor.

The Landgrave, meanwhile, deſirous of penetrating to the bottom of the Emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his maſter's ſchemes, informing him of the ſeveral particulars which raiſed the ſuſpicions of the Proteſtants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, aſſured them that the intelligence which they had received of the Emperor's military preparations was exaggerated, and all their ſuſpicions deſtitute of foundation; that, though in order to guard his frontiers againſt any inſult of the French or Engliſh, he had commanded a ſmall body of men to be raiſed in the Low-Countries, he was as ſolicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany ‡.

But the Emperor's actions did not correſpond with theſe profeſſions. For, inſtead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper to appear in defence of the Catholic doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own ſyſtem with a blind obſtinacy, which rendered all hope of reconcilement deſperate. Malvenda, a Spaniſh divine, who took the conduct of the debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the ſubtle dexterity of a ſcholaſtic metaphyſician, more ſtudious to perplex his adverſaries than to convince them, and more

* Seck. l. iii. 566, 570, 613. Sleid. 355.

‡ Sleid. 356.

intent

Book VII. 1546.

intent on palliating error than on discovering truth. The Protestants filled with indignation, as well at his sophistry as at some regulations which the Emperor endeavoured to impose on the disputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being fully convinced of the Emperor's having had nothing in view but to amuse them, and to gain time for ripening his own schemes *.

* Sleid 358. Seck. l. iii. 620.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VIII.

WHILE appearances of danger daily encreaſed, and the tempeſt which had been ſo long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence againſt the Proteſtant church, Luther was ſaved, by a ſeaſonable death, from feeling or beholding its deſtructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining ſtate of health, and during a rigorous ſeaſon, to his native city of Eyſleben, in order to compoſe, by his authority, a diſſention among the counts of Mansfield, he was ſeized with a violent inflammation in his ſtomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age. As he was raiſed up by providence to be the author of one of the greateſt and moſt diſintereſting revolutions recorded in hiſtory, there is not any perſon perhaps whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. In his own age, one party, ſtruck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they ſaw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be ſacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of

Book VIII.

1546. Death of Luther.

Feb. 18.

Book VIII. 1546.

of a man, but the qualities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the reſtorer of light and liberty to the Chriſtian church, aſcribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure or the exaggerated praiſe of his contemporaries, which ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain it, abilities both natural and acquired to defend it, and unwearied induſtry to propagate it, are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſſeſſed them in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added with equal juſtice, ſuch purity and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a Reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered; and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſiderations, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf in his original ſtate of profeſſor in the univerſity, and paſtor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconſiderable mixture of human frailty and human paſſions. Theſe, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind forcible and vehement in all its operations, rouzed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out, on many occaſions, with an impetuoſity which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in aſſerting them, to raſhneſs; his firmneſs in adhering to them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtoming himſelf to conſider every

His character.

every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth againſt thoſe, who diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries, indiſcriminately, with the ſame rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame groſs abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which, by putting continual reſtraint on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety and rendered it agreeable, diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reſerve or delicacy. At the ſame time, the works of learned men were all compoſed in Latin, and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to uſe their antagoniſts with the moſt illiberal ſcurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear leſs ſhocking than in a living language, whoſe idioms and phraſes ſeem groſs, becauſe they are familiar.

In paſſing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by thoſe of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the ſame, manners and cuſtoms vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear moſt culpable, gave no diſguſt to his contemporaries. It was even by ſome of thoſe qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accompliſhing the great work which he undertook. To rouze mankind, when ſunk in ignorance or ſuperſtition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmoſt vehemence of zeal, and a temper daring to exceſs. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. A ſpirit, more amiable, but leſs vigorous than Luther's, would have ſhrunk back from the dangers, which he braved and ſurmounted. Towards the cloſe of Luther's life, though without any perceptible declenſion of his

zeal

1546. zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increaſed upon him, ſo that he grew daily more peeviſh, more iraſcible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be witneſs of his own amazing ſucceſs; to ſee a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to ſhake the foundation of the Papal throne, before which the mightieſt Monarchs had trembled, he diſcovered, on ſome occaſions, ſymptoms of vanity and ſelf-applauſe. He muſt have been indeed more than man, if upon contemplating all that he actually accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiment of this kind riſing in his breaſt *.

Some time before his death he felt his ſtrength declining, his conſtitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of buſineſs, added to the labour of diſcharging his miniſterial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of conſtant ſtudy, beſides the compoſition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leiſure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forſake him at the approach of death; his laſt converſation with his friends was concerning the happineſs reſerved for good men in a future world, of which he ſpoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wiſhed to enter ſoon upon the enjoyment of it †. The account of his death filled the Roman Catholic party with exceſſive as well as indecent joy, and damped the ſpirits of all his followers; neither party ſufficiently conſidering that his doctrines were now ſo firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flouriſh independent of the hand which firſt had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony with extraordinary pomp. He left ſeveral children by his wife Catharine Bore, who ſurvived him; towards the end of the laſt century, there were in Saxony ſome of his deſcendents in decent and honourable ſtations ‡.

* A remarkable inſtance of this, as well as of a certain ſingularity and elevation of ſentiment, is found in his Laſt Will. Though the effects which he had to bequeath were very inconſiderable, he thought it neceſſary to make a Teſtament, but ſcorned to frame it with the uſual legal formalities. Notus ſum, ſays he, in cœlo, in terra, & in inferno, & auctoritatem ad hoc ſufficientem habeo, ut mihi ſoli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licit damnabili, et miſerabili peccatori, ex paterna miſericordia Evangelium filii ſui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax & fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, & me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint; ſpreto banno Papæ, Cæſaris, Regum, Principum & ſacerdotum, immo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad diſpoſitionem hanc, in re exigua, ſufficiat; ſi adſit manus meæ teſtimonium, & dici poſſit, hæc ſcripſit D. Martinus Luther, Notarius Dei, & teſtis Evangelii ejus. Seck. l. iii. p. 651.

† Sleid. 362. Seck. lib. iii. 632, &c.

‡ Seck. l. iii. p. 651.

The

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THE Emperor, meanwhile, purſued the plan of diſſimulation with which he had ſet out, employing every art to amuſe the Proteſtants, and to quiet their fears and jealouſies. For this purpoſe he contrived to have an interview with the Landgrave of Heſſe, the moſt active of all the confederates, and the moſt ſuſpicious of his deſigns. To him he made ſuch warm profeſſions of his concern for the happineſs of Germany, and of his averſion to all violent meaſures; he denied, in ſuch expreſs terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations which ſhould give cauſe of alarm to the Proteſtants, as ſeem to have diſpelled all the Landgrave's doubts and apprehenſions, and ſent him away fully ſatisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually anſwered the purpoſe for which it was intended. The Landgrave upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were aſſembled, and gave them ſuch a flattering repreſentation of the Emperor's favourable diſpoſition towards them, that they, too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation as from the genius of all great aſſociations or bodies of men, to be ſlow, and dilatory, and undeciſive in their deliberations, thought there was no neceſſity of taking any immediate meaſures againſt danger, which appeared to be diſtant or imaginary *.

1546. The Emperor endeavours to amuſe and deceive the Proteſtants. March 28.

SUCH events, however, ſoon occurred, as ſtaggered the credit which the Proteſtants had given to the Emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though ſtill compoſed of a ſmall number of Italian and Spaniſh prelates, without a ſingle deputy from many of the kingdoms which it aſſumed the right of binding by its decrees, being aſhamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to ſettle articles of the greateſt importance. Having begun with examining the firſt and chief point in controverſy between the church of Rome and the Reformers, concerning the rule which ſhould be held ſupreme or deciſive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, determined, "That the books to which the deſignation of *Apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with thoſe which were received by the Jews and primitive Chriſtians into the ſacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apoſtolic age, and preſerved in

Proceedings of the council againſt the Proteſtants.

April 8.

* Sleid. Hiſt. 367, 373.

the

Book VIII. 1546. the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inſpired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin tranſlation of the Scriptures, made or reviſed by St. Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* tranſlation, ſhould be read in churches, and appealed to in the ſchools as authentic and canonical. Againſt all who diſclaimed the truth of theſe tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghoſt. The deciſion of theſe points, which undermined the main pillar of the Lutheran ſyſtem, was a plain warning to the Proteſtants what judgment they might expect when the council ſhould have leiſure to take into conſideration the particular and ſubordinate articles of their Creed *."

THIS diſcovery of the council's readineſs to condemn their opinions, was ſoon followed by a ſtriking inſtance of the Pope's reſolution to puniſh ſuch as embraced them. The appeal of the canons of Cologne againſt their archbiſhop having been carried to Rome, Paul eagerly ſeized on that opportunity, both of diſplaying the extent of his own authority, and of teaching the German eccleſiaſtics the danger of revolting from the eſtabliſhed church. As no perſon appeared in behalf of the archbiſhop, he was
April 16. held to be convicted of the crime of hereſy, and a Papal bull was iſſued, depriving him of his eccleſiaſtical dignity, inflicting on him the ſentence of excommunication, and abſolving his ſubjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him as their civil ſuperior. The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran hereſy was the only crime imputed to him, as well as the only reaſon aſſigned to juſtify the extraordinary rigour of this decree. The Proteſtants could ſcarce believe that Paul, how zealous ſoever to defend the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, or to humble thoſe who invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt a Prince and Elector of the Empire, without having previouſly ſecured ſuch powerful protection as would render his cenſure ſomething more than an impotent and deſpicable ſally of reſentment. They were of courſe deeply alarmed at this ſentence againſt the Archbiſhop, conſidering it as a ſure indication of the malevolent intentions not only of the Pope, but of the Emperor, againſt the whole party †.

* F. Paul. 141. Pallavic. 206.
† Sleid. 354. F. Paul, 155. Pallavic. 224.

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Upon this fresh revival of their fears, with such violence as is natural to men rouzed from a false security, and conscious of their having been deceived, Charles saw that it was now necessary to throw aside the veil, and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a long series of artifice and fallacy, he had gained so much time, that his measures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were greatly matured. The Pope, by his proceedings against the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the decree of the council, had precipitated matters into such a situation, as rendered a breach between the Emperor and the Protestants almost unavoidable. Charles had no choice left him but either to take part with them in overturning what the See of Rome had determined, or to support the authority of the church openly by force of arms. Nor did the Pope think it enough to have brought the Emperor under a necessity of acting; he pressed him to begin his operations, by promising to second him with such vigour as could scarce fail of securing his success. Transported by his zeal against heresy, he forgot all the prudent and cautious maxims of the Papal See, with regard to the danger of extending the Imperial authority beyond due bounds, and in order to crush the Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards raising up a master that might prove formidable to himself as well as to the rest of Italy.

Charles about to commence hostilities against the Protestants.

Negotiates with the Pope.

But besides the certain expectation of assistance from the Pope, Charles was now secure from any danger of interruption to his designs by the Turkish arms. His negotiations at the Porte, which he had carried on with great assiduity since the peace of Crespy, were on the point of being terminated in such a manner as he desired. Solyman, partly in compliance with the French King, who, in order to avoid the disagreeable obligation of joining the Emperor against his ancient ally, laboured with great zeal to bring about an accommodation between them; and partly from its being necessary to turn his arms towards the east, where the Persians threatened to invade his dominions, consented without difficulty to a truce for five years. The chief article of it was, that each should retain possession of what he now held in Hungary; and Ferdinand as a sacrifice to the pride of the Sultan, submitted to pay an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns *.

Concludes a truce with Solyman.

* Isuanhaffi Hist. Hung. 180. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 582.

1546. Gains Maurice and other Princes of Germany.

But it was upon the aid and concurrence of the Germans themſelves that the Emperor relied with the greateſt confidence. The Germanic body, he knew, was of ſuch vaſt ſtrength, as to be invincible if it were united, and that it was only by employing its own force that he could hope to ſubdue it. Happily for him, the union of the ſeveral members in this great ſyſtem was ſo feeble, the whole frame was ſo looſely compacted, and its different parts tended ſo violently towards ſeparation from each other, that it was almoſt impoſſible for it, on any important emergence, to join in a general or vigorous effort. In the preſent juncture, the ſources of diſcord were as many, and as various as had been known on any occaſion. The Roman Catholics, animated with a zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceneſs with which it had been attacked, were eager to ſecond any attempt to humble thoſe innovators, who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as ſeveral other Princes, incenſed at the haughtineſs and rigour with which the Duke of Brunſwick had been treated by the confederates of Smalkalde, were impatient to reſcue him, and to be revenged on them. Charles obſerved, with ſatisfaction, the working of theſe paſſions in their minds, and counting on them as ſure auxiliaries whenever he ſhould think it proper to act, he found it, meanwhile, more neceſſary to moderate than to inflame their rage.

Holds a diet at Ratiſbon.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, ſuch the diſcernment with which the Emperor foreſaw and provided for every event, when the diet of the Empire met at Ratiſbon. Many of the Roman Catholic members appeared there in perſon, but moſt of the confederates of Smalkalde, under pretence of their being unable to bear the expence occaſioned by the late unneceſſary frequency of ſuch aſſemblies, ſent only deputies. Their jealouſy of the Emperor, and apprehenſions that violence, perhaps, might be employed in order to force their approbation of what he ſhould propoſe in the diet, was the true cauſe of their abſence. The ſpeech with which the Emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After profeſſing, in common form, his regard for the proſperity of the Germanic body, and declaring that in order to beſtow his whole attention upon the re-eſtabliſhment of its order and tranquillity, he had at preſent abandoned all other cares, rejected the moſt preſſing ſolicitations of his other ſubjects to reſide among

among them, and poſtponed affairs of the greateſt importance; he took notice, with ſome indignation, that his diſintereſted example had not been imitated; many members of chief conſideration having neglected to attend an aſſembly to which he had repaired with ſuch manifeſt inconvenience to himſelf. He then mentioned their unhappy diſſenſions about religion; lamented the ill ſucceſs of his paſt endeavours to compoſe them; complained of the abrupt diſſolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the beſt and moſt effectual method of reſtoring union to the churches of Germany, together with that happy agreement in articles of faith, which their anceſtors had found to be of no leſs advantage to their civil intereſt, than becoming their Chriſtian profeſſion. BOOK VIII. 1546.

By this gracious and popular method of conſulting the members of the diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, beſides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much reſpect to their judgment, the Emperor dextrouſly avoided diſcovering his own ſentiments, and reſerved to himſelf, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they ſhould recommend. Nor was he leſs ſecure of ſuch a deciſion as he wiſhed for by referring it wholly to themſelves. The Roman Catholic members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues, joined immediately in repreſenting that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be final in all matters of controverſy; that all Chriſtians ſhould ſubmit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they beſought him to exert the power, with which he was inveſted by the Almighty, in protecting that aſſembly, and in compelling the Proteſtants to acquieſce in its determinations. The Proteſtants, on the other hand, preſented a memorial, in which, after repeating their objections to the council of Trent, they propoſed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in diſpute, that either a free general council ſhould be aſſembled in Germany, or a national council of the Empire ſhould be called, or a ſelect number of divines ſhould be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith; they mentioned the receſſes of ſeveral diets favourable to this propoſition, and which gave them hope of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner; they now conjured the Emperor not to depart from his former plan, and by offering

Book VIII. 1546. violence to their conſciences to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which muſt fill every lover of his country with horror. The Emperor receiving this paper, with a contemptuous ſmile, paid no farther regard to it. Having already taken his final reſolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquieſce in it, he diſpatched the Cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpoſe in the Low-Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commiſſions to ſeveral officers for raiſing men in different parts of the Empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themſelves, in order to reſcue their ally, Henry of Brunſwick, from captivity *.

June 9.

The Proteſtants alarmed.

All theſe things could not be tranſacted without the obſervation and knowledge of the Proteſtants. The ſecret was now in many hands; under whatever veil of artifice or ſecrecy the Emperor ſtill affected to conceal his deſigns, his officers kept no ſuch myſterious reſerve, and his allies and ſubjects ſpoke out his intentions plainly. Alarmed with reports of this kind, from every quarter, as well as with the preparations of war which they ſaw begun, the deputies of the confederates demanded audience of the Emperor, and in the name of their maſters, required to know whether theſe military preparations were carried on by his command, and for what end, and againſt what enemy. To a queſtion put in ſuch a tone, and at a time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was neceſſary to give an explicit anſwer. He owned the orders which he had iſſued, and profeſſing his purpoſe not to moleſt any on account of religion who ſhould act as dutiful ſubjects, declared that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial dignity, and by puniſhing ſome factious members to preſerve the ancient conſtitution of the Empire from being impaired or diſſolved by their irregular or licentious conduct. Though the Emperor did not name the perſons whom he charged with ſuch high crimes, and deſtined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe in view. Their deputies, conſidering what he had

* Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

ſaid,

ſaid, as a plain declaration of his hoſtile intentions, immediately retired from Ratiſbon *.

The Cardinal of Trent found it no difficult matter to treat with the Pope, who having at length brought the Emperor to adopt that plan which he had long recommended, aſſented with eagerneſs to every article that he propoſed. The league was ſigned a few days after the Cardinal's arrival at Rome. The pernicious hereſies which abounded in Germany, the obſtinacy of the Proteſtants in rejecting the holy council aſſembled at Trent, and the neceſſity of maintaining ſound doctrine together with good order in the church, are mentioned as the motives of this union between the contracting parties. In order to check the growth of theſe evils, and to puniſh ſuch as had impiouſly contributed to ſpread them, the Emperor, having long and without ſucceſs made trial of gentler remedies, engaged inſtantly to take the field with a ſufficient army, that he might compel by force all who diſowned the council, or had apoſtatized from the religion of their forefathers, to return into the boſom of the church, and to ſubmit with due obedience to the Holy See. He likewiſe bound himſelf not to conclude a peace with them during ſix months without the Pope's conſent, nor without aſſigning him his ſhare in any conqueſt which ſhould be made upon them; and that even after that period he ſhould not agree to any accommodation which might be detrimental to the church or the intereſt of religion. On his part, the Pope ſtipulated to depoſite a large ſum in the bank of Venice towards defraying the expence of the war; to maintain at his own charge, during the ſpace of ſix months, twelve thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; to grant the Emperor for one year half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues throughout Spain; to authorize him by a bull to alienate as much of the lands belonging to religious houſes in that country, as would amount to the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns; and to employ not only ſpiritual cenſures but military force againſt any Prince who ſhould attempt to interrupt or defeat the execution of this treaty †.

The Emperor's treaty with the Pope.

July 26.

Notwithstanding the explicit terms in which the extirpation of hereſy was declared to be the object of the

Endeavours ſtill to conceal his intentions from the Proteſtants.

* Sleid. 376.

† Sleid. 381. Pallav. 255. Dumont Corps Diplom. II.

Book VIII. war which was to follow upon this treaty, Charles ſtill endeavoured to perſuade the Germans that he had no deſign to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repreſſing the inſolence of thoſe who had encroached upon it. With this view, he wrote circular letters, in the ſame ſtrain with his anſwer to the deputies at Ratiſbon, to moſt of the free cities, and to ſeveral of the Princes who had embraced the Proteſtant doctrines. In theſe he complained loudly, but in general terms, of the contempt into which the Imperial dignity had fallen, and of the preſumptuous as well as diſorderly behaviour of ſome members of the Empire. He declared he now took arms, not in a religious but in a civil quarrel; not to oppreſs thoſe who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful ſubjects, but to humble the arrogance of ſuch as had thrown off all ſenſe of that ſubordination in which they were placed under him as head of the Germanic body. Groſs as this deception was, and manifeſt as it might have appeared to all who conſidered the Emperor's conduct with attention, it became neceſſary for him to make trial of its effect; and ſuch was the confidence and dexterity with which he employed it, that he derived the moſt ſolid advantages from this artifice. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Proteſtant church, and of reducing all Germany under its ancient ſtate of ſubjection to the Papal See, none of the cities or Princes who had embraced the new opinions could have remained neutral after ſuch a declaration, far leſs could they have ventured to aſſiſt the Emperor in ſuch an enterprize. Whereas by concealing, and even diſclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only ſaved himſelf from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all the Proteſtant ſtates, but he furniſhed the timid with an excuſe for continuing inactive, and the deſigning or intereſted with a pretext for joining him without expoſing themſelves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or having an active hand in ſuppreſſing them. At the ſame time the Emperor well knew that if he were enabled, by their aſſiſtance, to break the power of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, he might afterwards preſcribe what terms he pleaſed to the feeble remains of a party without union or leaders, who would then regret, too late, their miſtaken confidence in him, and their inconſiderate deſertion of their aſſociates.

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The Pope disconcerts his plan.

THE Pope, by a ſudden and unforeſeen diſplay of his zeal, had well nigh diſconcerted this plan which the Emperor had formed with ſo much care and art. Proud of having been the author of ſuch a formidable confederacy againſt the Lutheran hereſy, and happy in thinking that the glory of extirpating it was reſerved for his Pontificate, he publiſhed the articles of his league with the Emperor as a proof of their pious intention, as well as of the extraordinary efforts which he himſelf was about to make for maintaining the faith in its purity. Not ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after iſſued a bull containing moſt liberal promiſes of indulgence to all who ſhould engage in this holy enterprize, together with warm exhortations to ſuch as could not bear a part in it themſelves, to increaſe the fervour of their prayers, and the ſeverity of their mortifications, that they might draw down the bleſſing of heaven upon thoſe who undertook it *. Nor was it zeal alone which puſhed the Pope to make declarations ſo inconſiſtent with the account which the Emperor himſelf gave of his motives for taking arms. He was much ſcandalized at Charles's diſſimulation in ſuch a cauſe; at his ſeeming to be aſhamed of owning his zeal for the church; and at his endeavours to make that paſs for a political conteſt, which he ought to have gloried in as a war which had no other object than the defence of religion. With as much ſolicitude, therefore, as the Emperor laboured to diſguiſe the purpoſe of the confederacy, did the Pope endeavour to publiſh their real plan, in order that they might come at once to a rupture with the Proteſtants, that all hope of reconcilement might be cut off, and that Charles might be under fewer temptations, and have it leſs in his power than at preſent, to betray the intereſts of the church by an accommodation beneficial to himſelf †.

THE Emperor, though not a little offended at the Pope's indiſcretion or malice in making this diſcovery, continued boldly to purſue his own plan, and to aſſert his intentions to be no other than what he had originally avowed. Several of the Proteſtant ſtates, whom he had previouſly gained, thought themſelves juſtified in ſome meaſure, by his declarations, for abandoning their aſſociates, and even for giving aſſiſtance to him.

* Du Mont Corps Diplom.
† F. Paul, 188. Thuan. Hiſt. i. 61.

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The preparations of the Proteſtants for their own defence.

BUT theſe artifices did not impoſe on the greater and ſounder part of the Proteſtant confederates. They clearly perceived it to be againſt the reformed religion that the Emperor had taken arms, and that not only the ſuppreſſion of it, but the extinction of the German liberties, would be the certain conſequence of his obtaining ſuch an entire ſuperiority as would enable him to execute his ſchemes in their full extent. They determined, therefore, to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce thoſe religious truths, to the knowledge of which they had attained by means ſo wonderful, nor to abandon thoſe civil rights which had been tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors. In order to give the neceſſary directions for this purpoſe, their deputies met at Ulm, ſoon after their abrupt departure from Ratiſbon. Their deliberations were now conducted with ſuch vigour and unanimity, as the imminent danger which threatened them required. The contingent of troops, which each of the confederates was to furniſh, having been fixed by the original treaty of union, orders were given for bringing them immediately into the field. Being ſenſible, at laſt, that through the narrow prejudices of ſome of their members, and the imprudent ſecurity of others, they had neglected too long to ſtrengthen themſelves by foreign alliances, they now applied with great earneſtneſs to the Venetians and Swiſs.

They ſolicit the aid of the Venetians.

To the former, they repreſented the Emperor's intention of overturning the preſent ſyſtem of Germany, and of raiſing himſelf to abſolute power in that country by means of foreign force furniſhed by the Pope; they warned them how fatal this event would prove to the liberties of Italy, and that by ſuffering Charles to acquire unlimited authority in the one country, they would ſoon feel his dominion to be no leſs deſpotic in the other; they beſought them, therefore, not to grant a paſſage through their territories to thoſe troops, which ought to be treated as common enemies, becauſe by ſubduing Germany they prepared chains for the reſt of Europe. Theſe reflections had not eſcaped the ſagacity of thoſe wiſe republicans. They had communicated their ſentiments to the Pope, and had endeavoured to divert him from an alliance which tended to render irreſiſtible the power of a potentate, whoſe ambition he already knew to be boundleſs. But they had found Paul ſo eager in the proſecution of his own plan, that he diſregarded all their remonſtrances *. They

* Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi tempi, lib. v. p. 332.

would

would do nothing more towards preventing the dangers which they foreſaw; and in return to the application from the confederates of Smalkalde, informed them, that they could not obſtruct the march of the Pope's troops through an open country, but by levying an army ſtrong enough to face them in the field, and that this would draw upon themſelves the whole weight of his as well as of the Emperor's indignation. For the ſame reaſon they declined lending a ſum of money, which the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave propoſed to borrow of them, towards carrying on the war *. Book VIII. 1546.

THEIR demands upon the Swiſs were not confined to the obſtructing of the entrance of foreigners into Germany; they required of them, as the neareſt neighbours, and cloſeſt allies of the Empire, to interpoſe with their wonted vigour for the preſervation of its liberties, and not to ſtand as inactive ſpectators, while their brethren were oppreſſed and enſlaved. But with what zeal ſoever the reformed cantons might have been diſpoſed to act when the cauſe of the Reformation was in danger, the Helvetic body was ſo divided with regard to religion, as rendered it unſafe for the Proteſtants to take any ſtep without conſulting their aſſociates; and among them the emiſſaries of the Pope and Emperor had ſuch influence, that a reſolution of maintaining an exact neutrality between the contending parties, was the utmoſt which could be procured †. Of the Swiſs.

BEING diſappointed in both theſe applications, they not long after had recourſe to the Kings of France and England; the approach of danger either overcoming the Elector of Saxony's ſcruples, or obliging him to yield to the importunities of his confederates. The ſituation of the two Monarchs flattered them with hopes of ſucceſs. Hoſtilities between them had continued for ſome time after the peace of Creſpy. But becoming weary at laſt of a war, attended with no glory or advantage to either, they had lately terminated all their differences by a peace concluded at Campe near Ardres. Francis having with great difficulty procured his allies, the Scots, to be included in the treaty, in return for that conceſſion he engaged to pay a great ſum, which Henry demanded as due to him Of Francis I. and Henry VIII.

* Sleid. 381. Paruta Iſtor. Venet. tom. iv. 184. Lambertus Hortenſius de bello Germanico apud Scardium, vol. ii. p. 547.
† Sleid. 392.

on

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on several accounts, and he left Bologne in the hands of the English as a pledge for his faithful performance of that article. But though the re-establishment of peace seemed to leave the two Monarchs at liberty to turn their attention towards Germany, so unfortunate were the Protestants, that they derived no immediate advantage from this circumstance. Henry appeared unwilling to enter into any alliance with them, but on such conditions as would render him not only the head, but the supreme director of their league; a pre-eminence which, as the bonds of union or interest between them were but feeble, and as he differed from them so widely in his religious sentiments, they had no inclination to admit *. Francis, more powerfully inclined by political considerations to furnish them with assistance, found his kingdom so much exhausted by a long war, and was so much afraid of irritating the Pope by entering into close union with excommunicated Heretics, that he durst not undertake the protection of the Smalkaldic league. By this ill-timed caution, or superstitious deference to scruples, to which at other times he was not much addicted, he lost the most promising opportunity of mortifying and distressing his rival, which presented itself during his whole reign.

Protestants take the field with a great army.

But, notwithstanding their ill success in their negotiations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home, in bringing a sufficient force into the field. Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants; the feudal institutions subsisted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest warning; the martial spirit of the Germans, not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either in the pay of the Emperors, or Kings of France. Upon every opportunity of entering into service, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms; and to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters †. Zeal seconded, on this occasion, their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional vigour; and among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain

* Rymer, xv. 93. Herbert, 258 † Seck. l. iii. 161.

inactive,

inactive, when the defence of religion was the motive for taking arms. Accident combined with all these circumstances in facilitating the levy of soldiers among the confederates. A considerable number of Germans in the pay of France, being dismissed by the King on the prospect of peace with England, joined in a body the standard of the Protestants *. By such a concurrence of causes, they were enabled to assemble in a few weeks an army composed of seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse; provided with a train of an hundred and twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition waggons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and six thousand pioneers †. Nor was this army, one of the most numerous, and undoubtedly the best appointed of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, raised by the united effort of the whole Protestant body. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Princes of Anhault, and the Imperial cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg, were the only powers which contributed towards this great armament: The Electors of Cologne, of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine, overawed by the Emperor's threats, or deceived by his professions, remained neuter. John marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and Albert of Brandenburg Anspach, though both early converts to Lutheranism, entered openly into the Emperor's service, under pretext of having obtained his promise for the security of the Protestant religion; and Maurice of Saxony soon followed their example.

The inequality of the Emperor's forces to theirs.

The immense number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had assembled them, astonished the Emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants, being mostly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only three thousand Spanish foot, whom he had called from the frontiers of Hungary, and about five thousand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the Empire, he must have been overwhelmed by the approach of such a numerous army,

* Thuan. l. i. 68.

† Thuan. l. i. 601. Ludovici ab Avila & Zunga Commentariorum de bel. Germ. lib. duo. Antw. 1550. 12mo. p. 13. a.

which

Book VIII. which he could not fight, nor even hope to retreat from it in ſafety. The Pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had ſcarce reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low-Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete *. His ſituation, however, called for more immediate ſuccour, nor did it ſeem practicable for him to wait for ſuch diſtant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was ſo precarious.

1546.

They imprudently negotiate inſtead of acting.

But it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themſelves of the advantage which lay ſo full in their view. In civil wars, the firſt ſteps are commonly taken with much timidity and heſitation. Men are ſolicitous, at that time, to put on the ſemblance of moderation and equity; they ſtrive to gain partizans by ſeeming to adhere ſtrictly to known forms; nor can they be brought, at once, to violate thoſe eſtabliſhed inſtitutions, which in times of tranquillity they have been accuſtomed to reverence; hence their proceedings are often feeble or dilatory when they ought to be moſt vigorous and deciſive. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, which, happily for the peace of ſociety, operate powerfully on the human mind, the confederates could not think of throwing off that allegiance which they regularly owed to the head of the Empire, of turning their arms againſt him without one ſolemn appeal more to his candour, and the impartial judgment of their fellow ſubjects. For this purpoſe, they addreſſed a letter to the Emperor, and a manifeſto to all the inhabitants of Germany. The tenor of both was the ſame. They repreſented their own conduct with regard to civil affairs as dutiful and ſubmiſſive; they mentioned the inviolable union in which they had lived with the Emperor, as well as the many and recent marks of his good will and gratitude wherewithal they had been honoured; they aſſerted religion to be the ſole cauſe of the violence which the Emperor now meditated againſt them; and in proof of this adduced many arguments to convince thoſe who were ſo weak as to be deceived by the artifices with which he endeavoured to cover his real intentions; they declared their own reſolution to riſque every thing in maintenance of their religious rights, and foretold the diſſolution of the German con-

July 15.

* Sleid. 389. Avila, 8. 2.

ſtitution,

ſtitution, if the Emperor ſhould finally prevail againſt them *.

1546.

The Emperor puts them under the ban of the Empire. July 20.

But Charles, though in ſuch a perilous ſituation as might have inſpired him with moderate ſentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the moſt proſperous ſtate. His only reply to the addreſs and manifeſto of the Proteſtants, was to publiſh the ban of the Empire againſt the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, their leaders, and againſt all who ſhould dare to aſſiſt them. By this ſentence, the ultimate and moſt rigorous one which the German juriſprudence has provided for the puniſhment of traitors, or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body; their goods were confiſcated; their ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The nobles, and free cities, who framed or perfected the conſtitution of the German government, had not been ſo negligent of their own ſafety and privileges as to truſt the Emperor with this formidable juriſdiction. The authority of a diet of the empire ought to have been interpoſed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that, if his arms were crowned with ſucceſs, there would remain none who would have either power or courage to call in queſtion what he had done †. The Emperor, however, did not found his ſentence aganiſt the Elector and Landgrave on their revolt from the eſtabliſhed church, or their conduct with regard to religion; he affected to aſſign for it reaſons purely civil, and theſe too expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, without ſpecifying the nature or circumſtances of their guilt, as rendered it more like an act of deſpotic power, than of a legal and limited juriſdiction. Nor was it altogether from choice, or to conceal his intentions, that Charles had recourſe to the ambiguity of general expreſſions, he durſt not mention too particularly the cauſes of his ſentence, as every action which he could have charged upon the Elector and Landgrave as a crime, might have been employed with equal juſtice to

* Sleid. 384.

† Sleid. 386. Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 314. Pfeffel Hiſt. Abregé du Droit Publ. 168, 736, 151.

condemn

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condemn ſuch of the Proteſtants whom he ſtill pretended to conſider as faithful ſubjects, and whom it would have been extremely imprudent to alarm or diſguſt.

They declare war againſt Charles.

The confederates, now perceiving all hopes of accommodation to be at an end, had only to chooſe whether they would ſubmit without reſerve to the Emperor's will, or proceed to open hoſtilities. Nor did they want public ſpirit and reſolution to make the proper choice. A few days after the ban of the Empire was publiſhed, they, according to the cuſtom of that age, ſent a herald to the imperial camp with a ſolemn declaration of war againſt Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended Emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage or duty he might claim, or they had hitherto yielded to him. But previous to this formality, part of their troops had begun to act. The command of a conſiderable body of troops raiſed by the city of Augſburg having been given to Sebaſtian Schertel, a ſoldier of fortune, who by the booty he had got when the Imperialiſts plundered Rome, together with the merit of long ſervice, had acquired wealth and authority, which placed him on a level with the chief of the German nobles; that gallant veteran reſolved before he joined the main body of the confederates, to attempt ſomething ſuitable to his former fame and to the expectation of his countrymen. As the Pope's forces were haſtening towards Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany, by the narrow paſſes through the mountains which run acroſs that country, he advanced thither with the utmoſt rapidity, and ſeized Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, two ſtrong caſtles which commanded the principal defiles. Without ſtopping a moment, he continued his march towards Inſpruck, by getting poſſeſſion of which he would have obliged the Italians to ſtop ſhort, and with a ſmall body of men could have reſiſted all the efforts of the greateſt armies. Caſtlealto, the governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the Emperor, all whoſe deſigns muſt have proved abortive if his Italian auxiliaries had been intercepted, raiſed a few troops with the utmoſt diſpatch, and threw himſelf into the town. Schertel, however, did not abandon the enterprize, and was preparing to attack the place, when the intelligence of the approach of the Italians, and an order from the Elector and Landgrave obliged him to deſiſt. By his retreat the paſſes were left open, and the Italians entered

Their firſt operations,

entered Germany without any oppoſition, but from the garriſons that Schertel had placed in Ehrenberg and Cuffſtein, which having no hopes of being relieved, were not long in ſurrendering * †.

and ill conduct.

NOR was the recalling of Schertel the only error of which the confederates were guilty. As the ſupreme command of their army was committed, in terms of the league of Smalkalde, to the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe with equal authority, all the inconveniencies ariſing from a divided and co-ordinate juriſdiction, which is always of fatal conſequence in the operations of war, were immediately felt. The Elector, though intrepid in his own perſon to exceſs, and moſt ardently zealous in the cauſe, was ſlow in deliberating, uncertain as well as irreſolute in his determinations, and conſtantly preferred meaſures which were cautious and ſafe, to ſuch as were bold and deciſive. The Landgrave, of a more active and enterprizing nature, formed all his reſolutions with promptitude, wiſhed to execute them with ſpirit, and uniformly preferred ſuch ſchemes as tended to bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy iſſue. Thus their maxims, with regard to the conduct of the war, differed as widely as thoſe by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their ſentiments gave riſe, imperceptibly, to jealouſy and the ſpirit of contention. Theſe multiplied the diſſenſions flowing from the incompatibility of their natural temper, and rendered them more violent. The other members of the league, conſidering themſelves as independent, and ſubject to the Elector and Landgrave, only in conſequence of a voluntary confederacy, did not long retain a proper veneration for commanders, who proceeded with ſo little unanimity; and the numerous army of the Proteſtants, like a vaſt machine whoſe parts are all compact-

* Seckend. lib. ii. 70. Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi tempi, lib. 335.

† Seckendorf, the induſtrious author of the Commentarius Apologeticus de Lutheraniſmo, whom I have ſo long and ſafely followed as my guide in German affairs, was deſcended from Schertel. With the care and ſolicitude of a German, who was himſelf of noble birth, Seckendorf has publiſhed a long digreſſion concerning his anceſtor, calculated chiefly to ſhew how Schertel was ennobled, and his poſterity allied to many of the moſt ancient families in the Empire. Among other curious particulars, he gives us an account of his wealth, the chief ſource of which was the plunder he got at Rome. His landed eſtate was ſold by his grandſons for ſix hundred thouſand florins. By this we may form ſome idea of the riches amaſſed by the *Condottieri*, or commanders of mercenary bands in that age. At the taking of Rome, Schertel was only a captain. Seckend. lib. ii. 73.

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ed, and which is deſtitute of any power ſufficient to move and regulate the whole, acted with no conſiſtency, vigour or effect.

The Pope's troops join the Emperor.

The Emperor, who was afraid that, by remaining at Ratiſbon, he would render it impoſſible for the Pope's forces to join him, having boldly advanced to Landſhut on the Iſer, the confederates loſt ſome days in deliberating whether it was proper to follow him into the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, a neutral prince. When at laſt they ſurmounted that ſcruple, and began to move towards his camp, they ſuddenly abandoned the deſign, and haſtened to attack Ratiſbon, in which town Charles could leave only a ſmall garriſon. Meanwhile the Papal troops, amounting fully to that number which Paul had ſtipulated to furniſh, reached Landſhut, and were followed by ſix thouſand Spaniards of the veteran bands ſtationed in Naples. The confederates, after Schertel's ſpirited but fruitleſs expedition, ſeem to have permitted theſe forces to advance unmoleſted to the place of rendezvous, without any attempt to attack either them or the Emperor ſeparately, or to prevent their junction *. The Imperial army amounted now to thirty-ſix thouſand men, and was ſtill more formidable by the diſcipline and valour of the troops, than by their number. Avila, commander of Alcantara, who had been preſent in all the wars carried on by Charles, and had ſerved in the armies which gained the memorable victory at Pavia, which conquered Tunis, and invaded France, gives this the preference to any martial force he had ever ſeen aſſembled †. Octavio Farneſe, the Pope's grandſon, aſſiſted by the ableſt officers formed in the long wars between Charles and Francis, commanded the Italian auxiliaries. His brother the Cardinal Farneſe, accompanied him, as Papal legate; and in order to give the war the appearance of a religious enterprize, he propoſed to march at the head of the army, with a croſs carried before him, and to publiſh indulgences wherever he came to all who ſhould give them any aſſiſtance, as had anciently been the practice in the Cruzades againſt the Infidels. But this the Emperor ſtrictly prohibited, as inconſiſtent with all the declarations which he had made to the Germans of his own party; and the legate perceiving, to his aſtoniſhment, that the exerciſe of

* Adriani Iſtoria di ſuoi tempi, lib. 4. 340.
† Avila, 18.

the

the Proteſtant religion, the extirpation of which he conſidered as the ſole object of the war, was publickly permitted in the Imperial camp, ſoon returned in diſguſt to Italy *.

The arrival of theſe troops enabled the Emperor to ſend ſuch a reinforcement to the garriſon of Ratiſbon, that the confederates relinquiſhing all hopes of reducing that town, marched towards Ingoldſtadt on the Danube, near to which Charles was now encamped. Meanwhile they exclaimed loudly againſt the Emperor's notorious violation of the laws and conſtitution of the Empire, in having called in foreigners to lay waſte Germany, and to oppreſs its liberties. As in that age, the dominion of the Roman See was ſo odious to the Proteſtants, that the name of the Pope was ſufficient to inſpire them with horror at any enterprize which he countenanced, and to raiſe in their minds the blackeſt ſuſpicions, it came to be univerſally believed among them, that Paul, not ſatisfied with attacking them openly by force of arms, had diſperſed his emiſſaries all over Germany to ſet on fire their towns and magazines, and to poiſon the wells and fountains of water. Nor did this rumour ſpread only among the vulgar, being extravagant as well as frightful enough to make a deep impreſſion on their credulity; even the leaders of the party, blinded by their prejudices, publiſhed a declaration, in which they accuſed the Pope of having employed theſe Antichriſtian and diabolical arts againſt them †. Theſe ſentiments of the confederates were confirmed, in ſome meaſure, by the behaviour of the Papal troops, who, thinking nothing too rigorous towards Heretics anathematized by the church, were guilty of great exceſſes in the Lutheran territories, and aggravated the calamities of war, by mingling with it all the cruelty of bigotted zeal.

The firſt operations in the field, however, did not correſpond with the violence of thoſe paſſions which animated individuals. The Emperor had prudently taken the reſolution of avoiding an action with an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number ‡, eſpecially as he foreſaw that nothing could keep a body compoſed of ſo many and ſuch diſſimilar members from falling, to pieces, but the preſſing to attack it with an inconſiderate precipitancy. The confede-

The confederates advance towards the Imperial army.

* P. Paul, 191.

† Sleid. 399.

‡ Avila, 78. a.

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rates, though it was no leſs evident to them that every moment's delay was pernicious, were ſtill prevented by the weakneſs or diviſion of their leaders from exerting that vigour, with which their ſituation, as well as the ardour of their ſoldiers, ought to have inſpired them. On their arrival at Ingoldſtadt, they found the Emperor in a camp not remarkable for ſtrength, and ſurrounded only by a ſlight entrenchment. Before the camp lay a plain of ſuch extent, as afforded ſufficient ſpace for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once. Every conſideration ſhould have determined them to have ſeized this opportunity of attacking the Emperor; and their vaſt ſuperiority in numbers, the eagerneſs of their troops, together with the ſtability of the German infantry in pitched battles, afforded them the moſt probable expectation of victory. The Landgrave urged this with great warmth, declaring, that if the ſole command were veſted in him, he would terminate the war on that occaſion, and decide by one general action the fate of the two parties. But the Elector, reflecting on the valour and diſcipline of the enemies forces, animated by the preſence of the Emperor, and conducted by the beſt officers of the age, would not venture upon an action, which he thought to be ſo doubtful, as the attacking ſuch a body of veterans on ground which they themſelves had choſen, and while covered by fortifications which, though imperfect, would afford them no ſmall advantage in the combat. Notwithſtanding his heſitation and remonſtrances, it was agreed, to advance towards the enemies camp in battle array, in order to make trial whether by that inſult, and by a furious cannonade which they began, they could draw the Imperialiſts out of their works. But the Emperor had too much ſagacity to fall into this ſnare. He adhered to his own ſyſtem with inflexible conſtancy; and drawing up his ſoldiers behind their trenches, that they might be ready to receive the confederates if they ſhould venture upon an aſſault, calmly waited their approach, and carefully reſtrained his own men from any excurſions or ſkirmiſhes that might bring on an engagement. Meanwhile, he rode along the lines, and addreſſing the troops of the different nations in their own language, encouraged them by the chearfulneſs of his voice and countenance; he expoſed himſelf in places of the greateſt danger, and amidſt the warmeſt fire of the enemies artillery, the moſt numerous that had hitherto been brought into the field by any army.

Aug. 29.

The Emperor declines a battle.

Rouzed

Rouzed by his example, not a man quitted his ranks; it was thought infamous to diſcover any ſymptom of fear when the Emperor appeared ſo intrepid; and the meaneſt ſoldier plainly perceived, that their declining the combat at preſent was not the effect of timidity in their general, but the reſult of a well weighed caution. The confederates, after firing ſeveral hours on the Imperialiſts, with more noiſe and terror than execution, ſeeing no proſpect of alluring them to fight on equal terms, retired to their own camp. The Emperor employed the night with ſuch diligence in ſtrengthening his works, that the confederates, returning the canonade next day, found that, though they had now been willing to venture upon ſuch a bold experiment, the opportunity of making an attack with advantage was loſt *. Book VIII. 1546.

AFTER ſuch a diſcovery from their own feebleneſs and irreſolution, and of the prudence as well as firmneſs of the Emperor's conduct, the confederates turned their whole attention towards preventing the arrival of a powerful reinforcement of ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, which the count de Buren was bringing to the Emperor from the Low-Countries. But though that general had to traverſe ſuch an extent of country; though his route lay thro' the territories of ſeveral ſtates warmly diſpoſed to favour the confederates; though they were apprized of his approach, and by their vaſt ſuperiority in numbers might eaſily have detached a force ſufficient to overpower him, he advanced with ſuch rapidity, and by ſuch well-concerted movements, while they oppoſed him with ſuch remiſſneſs, and ſo little military ſkill, that he conducted this body to the Imperial camp without any loſs †. The Flemiſh troops join the Emperor.

AFTER the arrival of the Flemings, in whom he placed great confidence, the Emperor altered, in ſome degree, his plan of operations, and began to act more upon the offenſive, though he ſtill avoided a battle with the utmoſt induſtry. He made himſelf maſter of Nuburg, Dillingen, and Donawert on the Danube; of Nordlingen, and ſeveral other towns, ſituated on the moſt conſiderable ſtreams that fall into that mighty river. By this he got the command of a great extent of country, though not without being obliged to engage in ſeveral encounters, of which Sept. 10.

* Sleid. 395, 397. Avila 27. a. Lamb. Hortens. ap. Leard. li.
† Sleid. 403.

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State of both armies.

the ſucceſs was various, nor without the moſt imminent danger oftener than once of being drawn into a battle. In this manner the whole autumn was ſpent; neither party gained any remarkable ſuperiority over the other, and nothing was yet done towards bringing the war to a period. The Emperor had often foretold, with confidence, that diſcord and the want of money would compel the confederates to diſperſe that unwieldly body, which they had neither abilities to guide, nor funds to ſupport *; but though he waited with impatience for the accompliſhment of his prediction, there was no proſpect of that event being at hand. Meanwhile, he himſelf began to ſuffer from the want of forage and proviſions; even the Catholic provinces being ſo much incenſed at the introduction of foreigners into the Empire, that they ſupplied them with reluctance, while the camp of the confederates abounded with a profuſion of all neceſſaries, which the zeal of their friends in the adjacent countries furniſhed with the utmoſt liberality and good-will. Great numbers of the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to the climate or food of Germanny, were become unfit for ſervice through ſickneſs †. Conſiderable arrears were now due to the troops, who had ſcarce received any money from the beginning of the campaign; the Emperor, experiencing on this as well as on former occaſions, that his juriſdiction was more extenſive than his revenues, and that the former enabled him to aſſemble a greater number of ſoldiers, than the latter were ſufficient to pay. Upon all theſe accounts, he found it difficult to keep his army in the field; ſome of his ableſt generals, and even the duke of Alva himſelf, perſevering and obſtinate as he uſually was in the proſecution of every meaſure, adviſing him to diſperſe his troops into winter-quarters. But as the arguments urged againſt any plan which he had adopted, rarely made much impreſſion upon the Emperor, he paid no regard to their opinion, and determined to continue his efforts in order to weary out the confederates; being well aſſured that if he could once oblige them to ſeparate, there was little probability of their uniting again in a body ‡. Still, however, it remained a doubtful point, whether his ſteadineſs was moſt likely to fail, or their zeal

* Belli Smalkaldici Commentarius Græco ſermone ſcriptus a Joach. Camerario ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 479.

† Camerar. ap. Freher. 483. ‡ Thuan. 83.

to

to be exhauſted. It was ſtill uncertain which party, by firſt dividing its forces, would give the ſuperiority to the other; when an unexpected event decided the conteſt, and occaſioned a fatal reverſe in the affairs of the confederates.

The ſchemes of Maurice of Saxony.

Maurice of Saxony having, by the arts which have already been deſcribed, inſinuated himſelf into the Emperor's confidence, no ſooner ſaw hoſtilities ready to break out between him and the confederates of Smalkalde, than vaſt proſpects of ambition began to open upon him. That portion of Saxony, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, was far from ſatisfying his aſpiring mind; and he perceived with pleaſure the approach of civil war, as amidſt the revolutions or convulſions which it occaſions, opportunities which at other times are ſought in vain, of acquiring new power as well as additional dignity, preſent themſelves to an enterprizing ſpirit. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the two contending parties, and the qualities of their leaders, he did not heſitate long in determining on which ſide the greateſt advantages were to be expected.—Having revolved all theſe things in his own mind, and having taken his final reſolution of joining the Emperor, he prudently determined to declare early in his favour; that, by the merit of this, he might acquire a title to a proportional recompenſe. With this view, he had repaired to Ratiſbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and after many conferences with Charles or his miniſters, concluded, though with the moſt myſterious ſecrecy, a treaty in which he engaged to concur in aſſiſting the Emperor as a faithful ſubject; and Charles, in return, ſtipulated to beſtow on him all the ſpoils of the Elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories *. Hiſtory ſcarce records any treaty which can be conſidered as a more manifeſt violation of thoſe juſt principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a profeſſed Proteſtant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for its intereſt, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of every mind, binds himſelf to contribute his aſſiſtance towards carrying on a war, which had manifeſtly no other object than the extirpation of the Proteſtant doctrines. He engages to take arms againſt his father-in-law, and to ſtrip his neareſt relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend againſt a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the

His league with the Emperor.

* Haræc. Annal. Brabant. vol. i. 628. Struvii Corp. 1048. Thuan. 84.

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prince who ventured upon all this, one of thoſe audacious politicians, who, provided they can accompliſh their ends, and ſecure their intereſt, diſregard avowedly the moſt ſacred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Maurice's conduct, if the whole muſt be aſcribed to policy, was more artful and maſterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet endeavoured to preſerve, in every ſtep which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable from his ſubſequent behaviour, that with regard to the Proteſtant religion at leaſt, his intentions were upright, that he fondly truſted to the Emperor's promiſes for its ſecurity, but that, according to the fate of all who refine too much in policy, and who tread in dark and crooked paths, in attempting to deceive others, he himſelf was, in ſome degree, deceived.

His artifices in order to conceal his intentions.

His firſt care, however, was to keep theſe engagements with the Emperor cloſely concealed: and ſo perfect a maſter was he in the art of diſſimulation, that the confederates, notwithſtanding his declining all connections with them, and his remarkable aſſiduity in paying court to the Emperor, ſeemed to have entertained no ſuſpicion of his deſigns. Even the Elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his aſſociates, committed his dominions to his protection, which Maurice, with an inſidious appearance of friendſhip, readily undertook *. But ſcarce had the Elector taken the field, when Maurice began to conſult privately with the King of the Romans how to invade thoſe very territories, with the defence of which he was entruſted. Soon after, the Emperor ſent him a copy of the Imperial ban denounced againſt the elector and Landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly intereſted in preventing ſtrangers from getting his dominions into their poſſeſſion, Charles required him, not only for his own ſake, but upon the allegiance and duty which he owed to the head of the Empire, inſtantly to ſeize and detain in his hands the forfeited eſtates of the Elector; warning him, at the ſame time, that if he neglected to obey theſe commands, he ſhould be held as acceſſory to the crimes of his kinſman, and be liable to the ſame puniſhment †.

* Struvii Corp. 1046. † Sleid. 391. Thuan. 84.

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This artifice, which it is probable Maurice himself ſuggeſted, was employed by him in order that his conduct towards the Elector might ſeem a matter of neceſſity but not of choice, an act of obedience to his ſuperior, rather than a voluntary invaſion of the rights of his kinſman and ally. But in order to give ſome more ſpecious appearance to this thin veil with which he endeavoured to cover his ambition, he had called together, ſoon after his return from Ratiſbon, the ſtates of his country; and repreſenting to them that a civil war between the Emperor and confederates of Smalkalde was now become unavoidable, deſired their advice with regard to the part he ſhould act in that event. They being prepared, no doubt, and tutored before-hand, as well as deſirous of gratifying their Prince, whom they both eſteemed and loved, gave ſuch council as they knew would be moſt agreeable; adviſing him to offer his mediation towards reconciling the contending parties; but if that were rejected, and he could obtain proper ſecurity for the Proteſtant religion, they delivered it as their opinion that he ought, in all other points, to yield obedience to the Emperor. Upon receiving the Imperial reſcript, together with the ban againſt the Elector and Landgrave, he ſummoned the ſtates of his country a ſecond time; he laid before them the orders which he had received, and the puniſhment with which he was threatened in caſe of diſobedience; he acquainted them that the confederates had refuſed to admit of his mediation, and that the Emperor had given him the moſt ſatisfactory declarations with regard to religion; he mentioned his own intereſt in ſecuring poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions, together with the danger of allowing ſtrangers to obtain an eſtabliſhment in Saxony; and upon the whole, as the point under deliberation reſpected his ſubjects no leſs than himſelf, he deſired to know their ſentiments how he ſhould ſteer in that difficult and arduous conjuncture. The ſtates, no leſs obſequious and complaiſant, than formerly, relying on the Emperor's promiſes as a perfect ſecurity for their religion, propoſed that, before he had recourſe to more violent methods, they would write to the Elector, exhorting him, as the beſt means of appeaſing the Emperor, and of preventing his dominions from being ſeized by foreign or hoſtile powers, to give his conſent that Maurice ſhould take poſſeſſion of them quietly and without oppoſition. Maurice himſelf

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ſeconded their arguments in a letter to the Landgrave, his father-in-law. Such an extravagant propoſition was rejected with the ſcorn and indignation which it deſerved. The Landgrave, in return to Maurice, taxed him with his treachery and ingratitude towards a kinſman to whom he was ſo deeply indebted; he treated with contempt his affectation of executing the imperial ban, which he could not but know to be altogether void, by the unconſtitutional and arbitrary manner in which it had been iſſued; he beſought him not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far blinded by ambition, as to forget the obligations of honour and friendſhip, or to betray the Proteſtant religion, the extirpation of which out of Germany, even by the acknowledgment of the Pope himſelf, was the great object of the preſent war *.

He invades the territories of the Elector of Saxony.

November.

But Maurice had proceeded too far to be diverted from purſuing his plan by reproaches or arguments. Nothing now remained but to execute with vigour, what he had hitherto carried on by artifice and diſſimulation. Nor was his boldneſs in action inferior to his ſubtilty in contrivance. Having aſſembled about twelve thouſand men, he ſuddenly invaded one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand, with an army compoſed of Bohemians and Hungarians, over-ran the other. Maurice, in two ſharp encounters, defeated the troops which the Elector had left to guard his country; and improving theſe advantages to the utmoſt, made himſelf maſter of the whole Electorate, except Wittemberg, Gotha and Eiſenach, which being places of conſiderable ſtrength, and defended by ſufficient garriſons, refuſed to open their gates. The news of theſe rapid conqueſts ſoon reached the Imperial and confederate camps. In the former, their ſatisfaction with an event, which it was foreſeen would be productive of the moſt important conſequences, was expreſſed by every poſſible demonſtration of joy. The latter was filled with aſtoniſhment and terror. The name of Maurice was mentioned with execration, as an apoſtate from religion, a betrayer of the German liberty, and a contemner of the moſt ſacred and natural ties. Every thing that the rage or invention of the party could ſuggeſt, in order to blacken and render him odious; invectives, ſatires and lampoons, the furious declamations of their preachers, together with the rude wit of their authors,

* Sleid. 405, &c. Thuan. 85. Camerar. 484.

were

were all employed againſt him. While he, truſting to the arts which he had ſo long practiſed, as if his actions could have admitted of any ſerious juſtification, publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the ſame frivolous reaſons for his conduct, which he had formerly alledged in the meeting of his ſtates, and in his letter to the Landgrave *.

The confederates make overtures of accommodation to the Emperor,

The Elector, upon the firſt intelligence of Maurice's motions, propoſed to return home with his troops for the defence of Saxony. But the deputies of the league, aſſembled at Ulm, prevailed on him, at that time, to remain with the army, and to prefer the ſucceſs of the common cauſe before the ſecurity of his own dominions. At length the ſufferings and complaints of his ſubjects increaſed ſo much, that he diſcovered the utmoſt impatience to ſet out, in order to reſcue them from the oppreſſion of Maurice, and from the cruelty of the Hungarians, who having been accuſtomed to that licentious and mercileſs ſpecies of war which was thought lawful againſt the Turks, committed, wherever they came, the wildeſt acts of rapine and violence. This deſire of the Elector's was ſo natural and ſo warmly urged, that the deputies at Ulm, though fully ſenſible of the unhappy conſequences of dividing their army, durſt not refuſe their conſent, how unwilling ſoever to grant it. In this perplexity, they repaired to the camp of the confederates at Giengen on the Brentz, in order to conſult their conſtituents. Nor were they leſs at a loſs what to determine in this preſſing emergence. But, after having conſidered ſeriouſly the open deſertion of ſome of their allies; the ſcandalous lukewarmneſs of others who had hitherto contributed nothing towards the war; the intolerable load which had fallen, of conſequence, upon ſuch members as were moſt zealous for the cauſe, or moſt faithful to their engagements; the ill ſucceſs of all their endeavours to obtain foreign aid; the unuſual length of the campaign; the rigour of the ſeaſon; together with the great number of ſoldiers; and even officers, who had, on that account, quitted the ſervice; they concluded that nothing could ſave them, but either the bringing the conteſt to the immediate deciſion of a battle by attacking the Imperial army, or an accommodation of all their differences with Charles by a treaty. Such was the deſpondency and dejection which now oppreſſed the party, that of theſe two they choſe what was

* Sleid. 409, 410.

moſt

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moſt feeble and unmanly, empowering a miniſter of the Elector of Brandenbourg to propound overtures of peace in their name to the Emperor.

which he rejects.

No ſooner did Charles perceive this haughty confederacy, which had ſo lately threatened to drive him out of Germany, condeſcending to make the firſt advances towards an agreement, than concluding their ſpirit to be gone, or their union to be broken, he immediately aſſumed the tone of a conqueror; and as if they had been already at his mercy, would not hear of a negotiation, but upon condition of the Elector of Saxony's conſenting previouſly to give up himſelf and his dominions abſolutely to his diſpoſal *. As nothing more intolerable or ignominious could have been preſcribed, even in the worſt ſituation of their affairs, it is no wonder this propoſition was rejected by a party, humbled and diſconcerted rather than ſubdued. But though they refuſed to ſubmit tamely to the Emperor's will, they wanted ſpirit to purſue the only plan which could have preſerved their independence; and forgetting that it was the union of their troops in one body which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and had more than once obliged the Imperialiſts to think of quitting the field; they inconſiderately abandoned that advantage, which, in ſpite of the diverſion in Saxony, would ſtill have kept the Emperor in awe; and yielding to the Elector's intreaties, conſented to his propoſal of dividing the army. Nine thouſand men were left in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, in order to protect that province, as well as the free cities of Upper Germany; a conſiderable body marched with the elector towards Saxony; but the greater part returned with their reſpective leaders into their own countries, and were diſperſed there †.

The troops of the confederacy ſeparate.

Almoſt all the members of the confederacy ſubmit to the Emperor.

The moment the troops ſeparated, the confederacy ceaſed to be the object of terror; and the members of it, who while they compoſed part of a great body had felt but little anxiety about their own ſecurity, began to tremble when they reflected that they now ſtood expoſed ſingly to the whole weight of the Emperor's vengeance. Charles did not allow them leiſure to recover from their conſternation, or to form any new ſchemes of union. As ſoon as the confederates began to retire, he put his army

* Hortentius ap. Scard. ii. 485. † Sleid. 411.

in

in motion, and though it was now the depth of winter, he reſolved to keep the field, in order to make the moſt of that favourable juncture for which he had waited ſo long. Some ſmall towns in which the enemy had left garriſons immediately opened their gates. Norlingen, Rotenberg and Hall, Imperial cities, ſubmitted ſoon after. Though Charles could not prevent the Elector from levying, as he retreated, large contributions upon the archbiſhop of Mentz, the abbot of Fulda, and other eccleſiaſtics *, this was more than balanced by the ſubmiſſion of Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly diſtinguiſhed by its zeal for the Smalkaldic league. As ſoon as an example was ſet of deſerting the common cauſe, the reſt of the members became inſtantly impatient to follow it, and ſeemed afraid leſt others, by getting the ſtart of them in returning to their duty, ſhould, on that account, obtain more favourable terms. The Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, who, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of neutrality, had, very prepoſterouſly, ſent to the confederates four hundred horſe, a body ſo inconſiderable as to be ſcarce any addition to their ſtrength, but great enough to render him guilty in the eyes of the Emperor, made his acknowledgments in the moſt abject manner. The inhabitants of Augſburg, ſhaken by ſo many inſtances of apoſtacy, expelled the brave Schertel out of their city, and accepted ſuch conditions as the the Emperor was pleaſed to grant them. 1546.

The Duke of Wurtemberg, though among the firſt who had offered to ſubmit, was obliged to ſue for pardon on his knees, and even after this mortifying humiliation obtained it with difficulty †. Memmingen, and other free cities in the circle of Suabia, being now abandoned by all their former aſſociates, found it neceſſary to provide for their own ſafety by throwing themſelves on the Emperor's mercy. Straſburg and Frankfort on the Maine, cities far remote from the ſeat of danger, diſcovered no greater ſteddineſs than thoſe which lay more expoſed. Thus a confederacy, lately ſo powerful as to ſhake the Imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was diſſolved in the ſpace of a few weeks; ſcarce any member of that formidable combination now remaining in arms, but the Elector 1547.

* Thuan. 88.

† Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 589.

and

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1547. The rigorous conditions imposed by the Emperor.

and Landgrave, whom the Emperor, having from the beginning marked out as the victims of his vengeance, was at no pains to reconcile. Nor did he grant those who submitted to him a generous and unconditional pardon. Conscious of his own superiority, he treated them both with haughtiness and rigour. All the Princes in person, and the cities, by their deputies, were compelled to implore mercy in the humble posture of supplicants. As the Emperor laboured under great difficulties from the want of money, he imposed heavy fines upon them, which he levied with most rapacious exactness. The Duke of Wurtemberg paid three hundred thousand crowns; the city of Augsburg an hundred and fifty thousand; Ulm an hundred thousand; Frankfort eighty thousand; Memmingen fifty thousand; and the rest in proportion to their abilities, or their different degrees of guilt. They were obliged, besides, to renounce the league of Smalkalde; to furnish assistance, if required, towards executing the Imperial ban against the Elector and Landgrave; to give up their artillery and warlike stores to the Emperor; to admit garrisons into their principal cities and places of strength; and in this disarmed and dependent situation, to expect the final award which the Emperor should think proper to pronounce when the war came to an issue *. But, amidst the great variety of articles dictated by Charles on this occasion, he, in conformity to his original plan, took care that nothing relating to religion should be inserted, and to such a degree were the confederates humbled or overawed, that, forgetting the zeal which had so long animated them, they were solicitous only about their safety, without venturing to insist on a point, the mention of which they saw him avoiding with so much industry. The inhabitants of Memmingen alone made some feeble efforts to procure a promise of protection in the exercise of their religion, but were checked so severely by the Emperor's ministers, that they instantly fell from their demand.

The Elector of Cologne, whom, notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication issued against him by the Pope, Charles had hitherto allowed to remain in possession of the archiepiscopal see, being now required by the Emperor to submit to the censures of the church,

* Sleid. 411, &c. Thuan. lib. iv. p. 125. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 606.

this

this virtuous and disinterested prelate, unwilling to expose his subjects, on his account, to the miseries of war, voluntarily resigned that high dignity. With a moderation becoming his age and character, he chose to enjoy truth together with the exercise of his religion in the retirement of a private life, rather than to disturb society by engaging in a doubtful and violent struggle in order to retain his office *. 1547. Jan. 25.

MEANWHILE the Elector of Saxony reached the frontiers of his country. As Maurice could assemble no force equal to the army which accompanied him, he, in a short time, not only recovered possession of his own territories, but over-ran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him except Dresden and Leipsic, which being towns of some strength could not be suddenly reduced. Maurice, obliged to quit the field, and to shut himself up in his capital, dispatched courier after courier to the Emperor, representing his dangerous situation, and soliciting him with the most earnest importunity to march immediately to his relief. But Charles, busy at that time in prescribing terms to such members of the league as were daily returning to their allegiance, thought it sufficient to detach Albert Marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach with three thousand men to his assistance. Albert, though an enterprizing and active officer, allowed himself to be surprized by the Elector, who killed many of his troops, dispersed the remainder, and took him prisoner †. Maurice continued as much exposed as formerly; and if his enemy had known how to improve the opportunity which presented itself, his ruin must have been immediate and unavoidable. But the Elector, no less slow and dilatory when invested with the sole command, than he had been formerly when joined in authority with a partner, never gave any proof of military activity but in this enterprize against Albert. Instead of marching directly towards Maurice, whom the defeat of his ally had greatly alarmed, he inconsiderately listened to overtures of accommodation, which his artful antagonist proposed with no other intention than to amuse him, and to slacken the vigour of his operations.

The Elector returns to Saxony, and recovers possession of it.

SUCH, indeed, was the posture of the Emperor's affairs that he could not march instantly to the relief of his ally. Soon after the separation of the confederate army,

The Emperor prevented from attacking the Elector and Landgrave.

* Sleid. 418. Thuan. lib. iv. 128.
† Avila 99, 6. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 620.

he,

Book VIII. he, in order to eaſe himſelf of the burden of maintaining a ſuperfluous number of troops, had diſmiſſed the count of Buren with his Flemings *, imagining that the Spaniards and Germans, together with the papal forces, would be fully ſufficient to cruſh any degree of vigour that yet remained among the members of the league. But Paul, growing wiſe too late, began now to diſcover the imprudence of that meaſure, from which the more ſagacious Venetians had endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him. The rapid progreſs of the Imperial arms, and the eaſe with which they had broken a combination that appeared ſo firm and powerful, opened at length his eyes, made him forget at once all the advantages which he had expected from ſuch a compleat triumph over hereſy, and placed, in the ſtrongeſt light, his own impolitic conduct, in having contributed towards acquiring for Charles ſuch an immenſe increaſe of power, as would enable him, after oppreſſing the liberties of Germany, to give law with abſolute authority to all the ſtates of Italy. The moment he perceived his error, he endeavoured to correct it. Without giving the Emperor any warning of his intention, he ordered Farneſe, his grandſon, to return inſtantly to Italy with all the troops under his command, and at the ſame time recalled the licenſe which he had granted Charles, of appropriating, to his own uſe, a large ſhare of the church-lands in Spain. He was not deſtitute of pretences to juſtify this abrupt deſertion of his ally. The term of ſix months, during which the ſtipulations in their treaty were to continue in force, was now expired; the league, in oppoſition to which their alliance had been framed, ſeemed to be entirely diſſipated; Charles, in all his negotiations with the Princes and cities which had ſubmitted to his will, had neither conſulted the Pope, nor had allotted him any part of the conqueſts which he had made, nor had communicated to him any ſhare in the vaſt contributions that he had raiſed. He had not even made any proviſion for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy, or the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, which were Paul's chief inducements to beſtow the treaſures of the church ſo liberally in carrying on the war. Theſe colours, how ſpecious ſoever, did not conceal from the Emperor that ſecret jealouſy which was the true motive of the

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The Pope recalls his troops.

* Avila 83, 6. Mem. de Ribier, tom. i. 592.

Pope's

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Pope's conduct. But, as Paul's orders with regard to the march of his troops were no less peremptory than unexpected, it was impossible to prevent their retreat. Charles exclaimed loudly against this treachery, in abandoning him so unseasonably, while he was prosecuting a war undertaken in compliance with his earnest solicitations, and from which, if successful, so much honour and advantage would redound to the church. To complaints he added threats and expostulations. But Paul remained inflexible; his troops continued their march towards the ecclesiastical state; and in an elaborate memorial, intended as an apology for his behaviour, he discovered new and more manifest symptoms of alienation from the Emperor, together with a deep-rooted terror of his power *. Charles weakened by the withdrawing of so great a body from his army, which was already much diminished by the number of garrisons that he had been obliged to throw into the towns which had capitulated, found it necessary to recruit his forces by new levies, before he could venture to march in person towards Saxony.

A conspiracy to overturn the government of Genoa.

The fame and splendor of his success could not have failed of attracting such multitudes of soldiers into his service from all the extensive territories now subject to his authority, as must have soon put him in a condition of taking the field against the Elector; but the sudden and violent eruption of a conspiracy at Genoa, as well as the great revolutions which that event, extremely mysterious in its first appearances, seemed to portend, obliged him to avoid entangling himself in new operations in Germany, before he had fully discovered its source and tendency. The form of government which had been established in Genoa, at the time when Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country, though calculated to obliterate the memory of former dissentions, and received at first with eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give universal satisfaction to these turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire administration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many, envying them that pre-eminence, wished for the restitution of a popular government, to which they had been accustomed; and though all reverenced the disinterested virtue of Doria, and admired his talents, not a few were jealous of that ascendant which he had acquired

The object of the conspirators.

* F. Paul. 208. Pallavic. par. ii. p. 5. Thuan. 126.

in

Book VIII. 1547. in all the councils of the commonwealth. His age, however, his moderation, and love of liberty, afforded ample ſecurity to his countrymen that he would not abuſe his power, nor ſtain the cloſe of his days by attempting to overturn that fabrick, which it had been the labour and pride of his life to erect. But that authority and influence, which in his hands were innocent, they eaſily ſaw would prove deſtructive, if uſurped by any citizen of greater ambition, or leſs virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed ſuch pretenſions, and with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. Giannetino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew deſtined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewiſe at being his ſucceſſor in power. His temper haughty, inſolent, and overbearing to ſuch a degree as would ſcarce have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether inſupportable in the citizen of a free ſtate; and the more ſagacious among the Genoeſe already feared and hated him as the enemy of thoſe liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himſelf, blinded by that violent and undiſcerning affection which perſons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, ſet no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; ſeeming leſs ſolicitous to ſecure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that undeſerving kinſman.

Fieſco count of Lavagna the head of the conſpiracy.

But whatever ſuſpicion of Doria's deſigns, or whatever diſſatisfaction with the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the commonwealth, theſe circumſtances might have occaſioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fieſco, count of Lavagna, obſerving this growing diſguſt, had not been encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldeſt actions recorded in hiſtory. That young nobleman, the richeſt and moſt illuſtrious ſubject in the republic, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command reſpect, or ſecure attachment. He was graceful and majeſtic in his perſon; magnificent to profuſion; of a generoſity that prevented the wiſhes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of ſtrangers; of an inſinuating addreſs, gentle manners and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of theſe virtues, which ſeemed to form him for enjoying and adorning civil life, he concealed all the diſpoſitions which mark men out for taking the lead in the

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the moſt dangerous and dark conſpiracies; an inſatiable and reſtleſs ambition, a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that diſdained ſubordination. Such a temper could ill brook that ſtation of inferiority, wherein he was placed in the republic; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its deſcending, like an hereditary poſſeſſion, to Giannetino. Theſe various paſſions, preying with violence on his turbulent and aſpiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not ſubmit.

Intrigues and preparations of the conſpirators.

At firſt he thought of an alliance with Francis, and even propoſed it to the French ambaſſador at Rome, as the moſt effectual means of accompliſhing this; and after expelling Doria together with the Imperial faction by his aſſiſtance, he reſolved to put the public once more under the protection of that Monarch, hoping in return for that ſervice to be entruſted with the principal ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. But having communicated his ſcheme to a few choſen confidents, from whom he kept nothing ſecret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of deſperate fortune, capable alike of adviſing and of executing the moſt audacious deeds, remonſtrated with earneſtneſs againſt the folly of expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his ſucceſs; and exhorted him warmly to aim himſelf at that pre-eminence in his country, to which he was deſtined by his illuſtrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow citizens, and would be raiſed by the zeal of his friends. This diſcourſe opened ſuch vaſt proſpects to Fieſco, and ſo ſuitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other perſons preſent, though ſenſible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not chooſe to condemn what their patron had ſo warmly approved. It was inſtantly reſolved, in this dark cabal, to aſſaſſinate the two Dorias as well as the principal perſons of their party, to overturn the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government, and to place Fieſco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requiſite to ripen ſuch a deſign for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on theſe, Fieſco made it his chief care to guard againſt every thing that might betray his ſecret, or create ſuſpicion. The diſguiſe he aſſumed was of all others the moſt impenetrable. He ſeemed to be abandoned entirely to

Book VIII. 1547. pleaſure and diſſipation. A perpetual gaiety, diverſified by the purſuit of all the amuſements becoming his age and rank, engroſſed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidſt this hurry of diſſipation, he proſecuted his plan with the moſt cool attention, neither retarding the deſign by a timid heſitation, nor precipitating the execution by an exceſs of impatience. He continued his correſpondence with the French ambaſſador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might ſecure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he ſhould find it neceſſary to call them to his aid. He entered into a cloſe confederacy with Farneſe Duke of Parma, who being diſguſted with the Emperor for refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any meaſure that tended to diminiſh his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family ſo implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being ſenſible that in a maritime ſtate, the acquiſition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchaſed four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the deſign which he had formed, and did not diſapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of theſe gallies to ſail on a cruiſe againſt the Turks, he not only aſſembled a good number of his own vaſſals, but engaged in his ſervice many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their uſual occupation and ſubſiſtence.

While Fieſco was taking theſe important ſteps, he preſerved ſo admirably his uſual appearance of being devoted intirely to pleaſure and amuſement, and paid court with ſuch artful addreſs to the two Dorias, as impoſed not only on the generous and unſuſpicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannetino, who conſcious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to diſtruſt the deſigns of others. So many inſtruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to ſtrike the blow. Various conſultations were held by Fieſco with his confidants, in order to ſettle the manner of doing it with the greateſt certainty and effect. At firſt, they propoſed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high maſs in the principal church; but as Andrew was often abſent from theſe religious ſolemnities, on account of his great age, that deſign was laid aſide. It was then concerted that Fieſco ſhould invite the uncle and nephew, with all their friends whom he had marked out as victims,

tims, to his houſe; where it would be eaſy to cut them off at once without danger or reſiſtance; but as Giannetino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had choſen, it became neceſſary likewiſe to alter this plan. They at laſt determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by ſtratagem, and fixed on the night between the ſecond and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was choſen with great propriety; for as the Doge of the former year was to quit his office, according to cuſtom, on the firſt of the month, and his ſucceſſor could not be elected ſooner than the fourth, the republic remained during that interval in a ſort of anarchy, and Fieſco might with leſs violence take poſſeſſion of the vacant dignity. Book VIII. 1547.

The conſpirators aſſemble to execute their plan.

THE morning of that day Fieſco employed in viſiting his friends, paſſing ſome hours among them with a ſpirit as gay and unembarraſſed as at other times. Towards evening he paid court to the Dorias with his uſual marks of reſpect, and ſurveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his ſituation, was happy to obſerve the perfect ſecurity in which they remained, without the leaſt foreſight or dread of that ſtorm which had been ſo long a gathering, and was now ready to burſt over their heads. From their palace he haſtened to his own, which ſtood by itſelf in the middle of a large court, ſurrounded by a high wall. The gates had been ſet open in the morning, and all perſons, without diſtinction, were allowed to enter, but ſtrong guards poſted within the court ſuffered no one to return. Verrina meanwhile, and a few perſons truſted with the ſecret of the conſpiracy, after conducting Fieſco's vaſſals, as well as the crews of his gallies into the palace in ſmall bodies, with as little noiſe as poſſible, diſperſed themſelves through the city, and in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be diſguſted with the adminiſtration of the Dorias, and to have both inclination and courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vaſt number of perſons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpoſe they were aſſembled, the reſt aſtoniſhed at finding inſtead of the preparations for a feaſt, a court crowded with armed men, and apartments filled with the inſtruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of impatience, curioſity and terror.

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1547. Fieſco's exhortations to them.

WHILE their minds were in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and agitation, Fieſco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence he addreſſed himſelf to the perſons of chief diſtinction, telling them, that they were not now called to partake of the pleaſure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He ſet before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannetino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination, continued he, you have it now in your power to ſubvert, and to eſtabliſh the freedom of your country on a firm baſis. The tyrants muſt be cut off. I have taken the moſt effectual meaſures for this purpoſe. My aſſociates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if neceſſary. Happily the tyrants are as ſecure as I have been provident. Their inſolent contempt of their countrymen, has baniſhed the ſuſpicion and timidity which uſually render the guilty quick-ſighted to diſcern, as well as ſagacious to guard againſt the vengeance which they deſerve. They will now feel the blow, before they ſuſpect any hoſtile hand to be nigh. Let us then ſally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almoſt unaccompanied with danger, and certain of ſucceſs. Theſe words, uttered with that irreſiſtible fervour which animates the mind when rouzed by great objects, made the deſired impreſſion on the audience. Fieſco's vaſſals, ready to execute whatever their maſter ſhould command, received his diſcourſe with a murmur of applauſe. To many whoſe fortunes were deſperate, the licenſe and confuſion of an inſurrection afforded an agreeable proſpect. Thoſe of higher rank and more virtuous ſentiments, durſt not diſcover the ſurprize or horror with which they were ſtruck at the propoſal of an enterprize ſo unexpected and atrocious; as each imagined the other to be in the ſecret of the conſpiracy, and ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by perſons who waited only a ſignal from their leader to perpetrate the greateſt crime. With one voice then all applauded, or feigned to applaud, the undertaking.

His interview with his wife.

HAVING thus fixed and encouraged his aſſociates, before he gave them his laſt orders, he haſtened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble houſe of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whoſe

whoſe beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noiſe of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, ſhe concluded ſome hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and ſhe trembled for her huſband. He found her in all the anguiſh of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impoſſible to keep his deſign concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The proſpect of a ſcene ſo full of horror as well as danger, compleated her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal iſſue of it, ſhe endeavoured, by her tears, her entreaties, and her deſpair to divert him from his purpoſe. Fieſco, after trying in vain to ſooth and to inſpire her with hope, broke from a ſituation into which an exceſs of tenderneſs had unwarily ſeduced him, though it could not ſhake his reſolution. "Farewell, cried he, as he quitted her apartment, you ſhall either never ſee me more, or you ſhall behold tomorrow every thing in Genoa ſubject to your power." Book VIII. 1547.

As ſoon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper ſtation; ſome were appointed to aſſault and ſeize the different gates of the city; ſome to make themſelves maſters of the different ſtreets or places of ſtrength: Fieſco reſerved for himſelf the attack of the harbour where Doria's gallies were laid up, as the poſt of chief importance, and of greateſt danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens ſlept in the ſecurity of peace, when this band of conſpirators, numerous, deſperate and well armed, ruſhed out to execute their plan. They ſurprized without reſiſtance ſome of the gates. They got poſſeſſion of others after a ſharp conflict with the ſoldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley that had been fitted out againſt the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darſena or little harbour where Doria's fleet lay. All poſſibility of eſcape being by this precaution cut off, when Fieſco attempted to enter the gallies from the ſhore to which they were made faſt, as they were unrigged and diſarmed, having no crew on board but the ſlaves chained to the oar, they were in no condition to make reſiſtance. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noiſe and tumult, all the ſtreets reſounding with the cry of *Fieſco* and *liberty*. At that name, ſo popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conſpirators. The nobles and partizans of the ariſtocracy, aſtoniſhed or affrighted, ſhut the gates of their houſes, and thought of nothing but ſecuring them from pillage. At They attack the city.

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laſt, the noiſe excited by this ſcene of violence and confuſion, reached the palace of Doria; Giannetino ſtarted immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occaſioned by ſome mutiny among the ſailors, ruſhed out with a few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to paſs, was already in the poſſeſſion of the conſpirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmoſt fury, and murdered him upon the ſpot. The ſame muſt have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fieſco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the ſordid conſideration of preventing its being plundered amidſt the confuſion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horſeback, ſaved himſelf by flight. Meanwhile, a few ſenators had the courage to aſſemble in the palace of the republic *. At firſt, ſome of the moſt daring among them attempted to rally the ſcattered ſoldiers, and to attack a body of the conſpirators; but being repulſed with loſs, all agreed that nothing now remained, but to treat with the party which ſeemed to be irreſiſtible. Deputies were accordingly ſent to learn of Fieſco what were the conceſſions with which he would be ſatisfied, or rather to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe.

Cauſe of their miſcarriage.

But by this time Fieſco, with whom they were empowered to negotiate, was no more. Juſt as he was going to leave the harbour, where every thing had ſucceeded to his wiſh, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard ſome extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral galley. Alarmed at the noiſe, and fearing that the ſlaves might break their chains, and overpower his aſſociates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the ſhore to the veſſel happening to overturn, he fell into the ſea, whilſt he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he ſunk to the bottom, and periſhed in the very moment when he muſt have taken full poſſeſſion of every thing that his ambitious heart could deſire. Verrina was the firſt who diſcovered this fatal accident, and foreſeeing, at once, all its conſequences, concealed it with the utmoſt induſtry from every one but a few leaders of the conſpiracy. Nor was it

* Il palazza della de Signoria.

difficult,

difficult, amidſt the darkneſs and confuſion of the night, to have kept it ſecret, until a treaty with the ſenators ſhould have put the city in the power of the conſpirators. All their hopes of this were diſconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fieſco, who, when the deputies of the ſenate enquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their propoſals to him, replied with a childiſh vanity, "I am now the only perſon to whom that title belongs, and with me you muſt treat." Theſe words diſcovered both to his friends and enemies what had happened, and made the impreſſion that might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occaſion ſuch a ſudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, aſſumed inſtantly, with admirable preſence of mind, a new tone, ſuitable to the change in their circumſtances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negotiation, the reſt of the ſenators were buſy in aſſembling their partizans, and forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republick. On the other hand the conſpirators aſtoniſhed at the death of a man whom they adored and truſted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing ſecrecy with which the conſpiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto ſo much to its ſucceſs, proved now the chief cauſe of its miſcarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of thoſe who acted under him, knew not his confidants, and were ſtrangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no perſon among them whoſe authority or abilities entitled him to aſſume Fieſco's place, or to finiſh his plan; after having loſt the ſpirit which animated it, life and activity deſerted the whole body. Many of the conſpirators withdrew to their houſes, hoping that amidſt the darkneſs of the night they had paſſed unobſerved, and might remain unknown. Others ſought for ſafety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, all of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as maſters.

Tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in Genoa.

NEXT morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be ſeen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conſpirators having conducted their enterprize with more noiſe than bloodſhed,

Book VIII. and gained all their advantages by ſurprize, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the diſgrace as well as danger of the preceding night, were freſh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinſman ſtill before his eyes, ſuch was his moderation and magnamity, that the decree iſſued by the ſenate againſt the conſpirators, did not exceed that juſt meaſure of ſeverity which was requiſite for the ſupport of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of reſentment, nor the rancour of revenge * †.

1547.

The Emperor alarmed at this conſpiracy.

After taking the neceſſary precautions for preventing the flame, which was now ſo happily extinguiſhed, from breaking out anew, the firſt care of the ſenate was to ſend an ambaſſador to the Emperor to give him a particular detail of what had happened, and to beg his aſſiſtance towards the reduction of Montobbio, a ſtrong fort on the hereditary eſtate of the Fieſci, in which Jerome had ſhut himſelf up. Charles was no leſs alarmed than aſtoniſhed at an event ſo ſtrange and unexpected. He could not believe that Fieſco, how bold or adventurous ſoever, durſt have attempted ſuch an enterprize, but on foreign ſuggeſtion, and from hope of foreign aid. Being informed that the Duke of Parma was well acquainted with the plan of the conſpirators, he immediately ſuppoſed that the Pope could not be ignorant of a meaſure, which his ſon had countenanced. Proceeding from this to a farther conjecture, which Paul's cautious maxims of policy in other inſtances rendered extremely probable, he concluded that the French King muſt have known and approved of the deſign; and he began to apprehend that this ſpark might again kindle the flame of war which had raged ſo long in Italy. As he had drained his Italian territories of troops on account of the German war, he was altogether unprovided for reſiſting any hoſtile attack in that country; and on the firſt appearance of danger he muſt have de-

Suſpends his operations in Germany.

* Thuan. 93. Sigonii vita Andreæ Doria, 1196. La Conjuration de Compte de Fieſque par Cardin. de Retz. Adriani Iſtoria. lib. vi. 369. Folietæ Conjuratio Jo. Lud. Fieſci ap. Græv. Theſ. Ital. i. 883.

† It is remarkable, that Cardinal de Retz compoſed, at the age of eighteen, a hiſtory of this conſpiracy, containing ſuch a diſcovery of his admiration of Fieſco and his enterprize, that it is not ſurprizing that a miniſter, ſo jealous and diſcerning as Richlieu, ſhould be led by the peruſal of it to predict the turbulent and dangerous ſpirit of that young Eccleſiaſtick. Mem. de Retz. tom. i. p. 13.

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tached thither the greateſt part of its forces for its defence. In this ſituation of affairs, it would not have been altogether imprudent in the Emperor to have advanced in perſon againſt the Elector, until he ſhould learn with ſome degree of certainty whether ſuch a ſcene were not about to open in Italy, as might put it out of his power to keep the field with an army ſufficient to oppoſe him. Book VIII. 1547.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IX.

Book IX.

1547. Francis jealous of the Emperor's power and ſucceſs.

THE Emperor's dread of the hoſtile intentions of the Pope and French King did not proceed from any imaginary or ill-grounded ſuſpicion. Paul had already given the ſtrongeſt proofs both of his jealouſy and enmity. Charles could not hope, that Francis, after a rivalſhip of ſo long continuance, would behold the great advantages which he had gained over the confederate Proteſtants, without feeling his ancient emulation revive. He was not deceived in this conjecture. Francis had obſerved the rapid progreſs of his arms with deep concern, and though prevented hitherto, by circumſtances which have been mentioned, from interpoſing in order to check them, he was now convinced that, if he did not make ſome extraordinary and timely effort, Charles muſt acquire ſuch a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the reſt of Europe. This apprehenſion, which did not take its riſe from the envy of rivalſhip alone, but was entertained by the wiſeſt politicians of the age, ſuggeſted various expedients which might ſerve to retard the courſe

course of the Emperor's victories, and to form by degrees such a combination against him as might put a stop to his dangerous career. Book IX. 1547.

With this view, Francis instructed his emissaries in Germany to employ all their address in order to revive the courage of the confederates, and to prevent them from submitting to the Emperor. He made liberal offers of his assistance, and entering into a close correspondence with the Elector and Landgrave, whom he knew to be the most zealous as well as the most powerful of the whole body, he used every argument, and proposed every advantage which could either confirm their dread of the Emperor's designs, or determine them not to imitate the inconsiderate credulity of their associates in giving up their religion and liberties to his disposal. While he took this step towards continuing the civil war which raged in Germany, he endeavoured, likewise, to stir up foreign enemies against the Emperor. He solicited Solyman to seize this favourable opportunity of invading Hungary, which had been drained of all the troops necessary for its defence, in order to form the army against the confederates of Smalkalde. He exhorted the Pope to repair, by a vigorous and seasonable effort, the error of which he had been guilty in contributing to raise the Emperor to such a formidable height of power. Finding Paul, both from the consciousness of his own mistake, and his dread of its consequences, abundantly disposed to listen to his exhortations, he availed himself of this favourable disposition which the Pontiff began to discover, as an argument to gain the Venetians. He endeavoured to convince them that nothing could save Italy, and even Europe from oppression and servitude, but their joining the Pope and him in giving the first beginning to a general confederacy in order to humble that ambitious potentate, whom they had all equal reason to dread.

Negotiates with the Protestants; with Solyman; with the Pope and Venetians;

Having set on foot these negotiations in the southern courts, he turned his attention next towards those in the north of Europe. As the King of Denmark had particular reasons to be offended with the Emperor, Francis imagined that he would not be backward to approve of the league which he had projected; and lest considerations of caution or prudence should restrain him from joining in it, he attempted to overcome these, by offering him the young Queen of Scots in marriage to his son *. As

with the Kings of Denmark and England.

* Mem. de Rib. i. 600, 606.

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Book IX. 1547. the miniſters who governed England in the name of Edward VI, had openly declared themſelves converts to the opinions of the Reformers, as ſoon as it became ſafe upon Henry's death to lay aſide that diſguiſe which his unforgiving bigotry had forced them to aſſume, Francis flattered himſelf that their zeal would not allow them to remain inactive ſpectators of the overthrow and deſtruction of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame faith with themſelves; and he hoped that notwithſtanding the ſtruggles of faction incident to a minority, and the proſpect of an approaching rupture with the Scots, he might prevail on them likewiſe to take part in the common cauſe *.

WHILE Francis employed ſuch variety of expedients, and exerted himſelf with ſuch extraordinary activity, to rouze the different ſtates of Europe againſt his rival, he did not neglect what depended on himſelf alone. He levied troops in all parts of his dominions; he collected military ſtores; he contracted with the Swiſs cantons for a conſiderable body of men; he put his finances in admirable order; he remitted conſiderable ſums to the Elector and Landgrave; and took all the other ſteps neceſſary towards commencing hoſtilities on the ſhorteſt warning, and with proper vigour †.

The Emperor greatly alarmed.

OPERATIONS ſo complicated, and which required the putting ſo many inſtruments in motion, did not eſcape the Emperor's obſervation. He was ſoon informed of Francis's intrigues in the ſeveral courts, as well as of his domeſtic preparations; and ſenſible how fatal an interruption a foreign war would prove to his deſigns in Germany, he trembled at the proſpect of that event. The danger, however, appeared to him as unavoidable as it was great. He knew the inſatiable and well directed ambition of Solyman, and that he always choſe the ſeaſon for beginning his military enterprizes with prudence equal to the valour with which he conducted them. The Pope, as he had good reaſon to believe, wanted not pretexts to juſtify a rupture, nor inclinations to begin hoſtilities. He had already made ſome diſcovery of his ſentiments, by expreſſing a joy altogether unbecoming the head of the church, upon receiving an account of the advantage which the Elector of Saxony had gained over Albert of Brandenburg; and as he was now ſecure of finding in the French King, an ally of ſufficient power to ſupport him, he was

* Mem. de Rib. i. 635. † Mem. de Rib. i. 595.

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at no pains to conceal the violence and extent of his enmity *. The Venetians, Charles was well assured, had long observed the growth of his power with jealousy, which added to the solicitations and promises of France, might at last quicken their slow counsels, and overcome their natural caution. The Danes and English, it was evident, had both peculiar reason to be disgusted, as well as strong motives to act against him. But above all, he dreaded the active emulation of Francis himself, whom he considered as the soul and mover of any confederacy that could be formed against him; and as that Monarch had afforded protection to Verrina, who sailed directly to Marseilles upon the miscarriage of Fiesco's confederacy, Charles expected every moment the commencement of those hostile operations in Italy, of which he conceived the insurrection in Genoa to have been only the prelude.

Entertains hope from the declining state of Francis's health.

But while he remained in this state of suspense and solicitude, there was one circumstance which afforded him some prospect of escaping the danger. The French King's health began to decline. A disease, the effect of his intemperance and inconsiderate pursuit of pleasure, preyed gradually on his constitution. The preparations of war, as well as the negotiations in the different courts, began to languish, together with the Monarch, who gave spirit to both. The Genoese, during that interval, reduced Montobbio, took Jerome Fiesco prisoner, and putting him together with his chief adherents to death, extinguished all remains of the conspiracy. Several of the Imperial cities in Germany, despairing of timely assistance from France, submitted to the Emperor. Even the Landgrave seemed disposed to abandon the Elector, and to bring matters to a speedy accommodation, on such terms as he could obtain. In the mean time, Charles waited with impatience the issue of a distemper, which was to decide whether he must relinquish all other schemes, in order to prepare for resisting a combination of the greater part of Europe against him, or whether he might proceed to invade Saxony, without interruption or fear of danger.

March.

The good fortune, so remarkably propitious to his family, that some historians have called it the *Star of the House of Austria*, did not desert him on this occasion. Francis died at Rambouillet, on the last day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

Death of Francis, and reflections on his character and rivalship with Charles.

* Mem. de Rib. tom. i. 637.

Book IX. reign. During twenty-eight years of that time, an avowed rivalſhip ſubſiſted between him and the Emperor, which 1547. involved not only their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe in wars, proſecuted with more violent animoſity, and drawn out to a greater length, than had been known in any former period. Many circumſtances contributed to both. Their animoſity was founded in oppoſition of intereſt, heigthened by perſonal emulation, and exaſperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal inſults. At the ſame time, whatever advantage one ſeemed to poſſeſs towards gaining the aſcendant, was wonderfully balanced by ſome favourable circumſtance, peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of great extent, the French King's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with abſolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he ſupplied the want of authority by addreſs; the troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprizing, thoſe of the latter better diſciplined, and more patient of fatigue. The talents and abilities of the two Monarchs were as different as the advantages which they poſſeſſed, and contributed no leſs to prolong the conteſt between them. Francis took his reſolutions ſuddenly, proſecuted them at firſt with warmth, and puſhed them into execution with a moſt adventurous courage; but being deſtitute of the perſeverance neceſſary to ſurmount difficulties, he often abandoned his deſigns, or relaxed the vigour of purſuit, from impatience, and ſometimes from levity. Charles deliberated long, and determined with coolneſs; but, having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obſtinacy, and neither danger nor diſcouragement could turn him aſide from the execution of it. The ſucceſs of their enterprizes was altogether as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often diſconcerted the Emperor's beſt-laid ſchemes; Charles, by a more calm but ſteady proſecution of his deſigns, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulſed his moſt vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter, waiting until he ſaw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end not only all that he had loſt, but made new acquiſitions. Few of the French Monarch's attempts towards conqueſt, whatever promiſing aſpect they might wear at firſt, were conducted to an happy

happy iſſue; many of the Emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared deſperate and impracticable, terminated in the moſt proſperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the ſplendour of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the proſpect of its turning to his advantage. The degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation, has not been fixed either by a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial conſideration of the greatneſs and ſucceſs of their undertakings; and Francis is one of thoſe Monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of fame, than either his talents or his performances intitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumſtances. The ſuperiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preſerved through the remainder of his reign, was ſo manifeſt, that Francis's ſtruggle againſt his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by moſt of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally ariſes for thoſe who gallantly maintain an unequal conteſt, but with the favour due to one who was reſiſting a common enemy, and endeavouring to ſet bounds to a Monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of Princes, too, eſpecially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as men. Francis, notwithſtanding the many errors conſpicuous in his foreign policy and domeſtic adminiſtration, was nevertheleſs humane, beneficent, generous. He poſſeſſed dignity without pride; affability free from meanneſs; and courteſy exempt from deceit. All who had acceſs to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, reſpected and loved him. Captivated with his perſonal qualities, his ſubjects forgot his defects as a Monarch, and admiring him as the moſt accompliſhed and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they never murmured at acts of male-adminiſtration, which in a Prince of leſs engaging diſpoſitions, would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, muſt have been temporary only, and would have died away with the courtiers who beſtowed it; the illuſion ariſing from his private virtues muſt have ceaſed, and poſterity would have judged of his public conduct with its uſual impartiality; but another circumſtance prevented this, and his name hath been tranſmitted to poſterity with increaſing reputation. Science and the arts had, at that time, made little progreſs in France. They were

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were just beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been their only seat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himself, in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court, he conversed with them familiarly, he employed them in business, he raised them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. That race of men, not more prone to complain when denied the respect to which they fancy themselves entitled, than apt to be pleased when treated with the distinction which they consider as their due, thought they could not exceed in gratitude to such a benefactor, and strained their invention, and employed all their ingenuity in panegyric. Succeeding authors, warmed with their descriptions of Francis's bounty, adopted their encomiums, and refined upon them. The appellation of Father of Letters bestowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory sacred among historians, and they seem to have regarded it as a sort of impiety to uncover his infirmities, or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithstanding his inferior abilities, and want of success, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The virtues which he possessed as a man, have entitled him to greater admiration and praise than have been bestowed upon the extensive genius and fortunate arts of a more capable, but less amiable rival.

Effects of Francis's death.

By his death, a considerable change was made in the state of Europe. Charles, grown old in the arts of government and command, had now to contend only with younger Monarchs, who could not be regarded as an equal match for him, who had stood the encounter with Henry VIII. and Francis I. and come off with honour in all these different contests. By this event, he was eased of all his disquietude, and was happy to find that he might begin with safety those operations against the Elector of Saxony, which he had hitherto been obliged to suspend. He knew the abilities of Henry II. who had just mounted the throne of France, to be greatly inferior to those of his father, and foresaw that he would be so much occupied for some time in displacing the late King's ministers, whom he hated, and in gratifying the ambitious demands of his own favourites, that he had nothing to dread, either from his personal efforts, or from any confederacy which this unexperienced Prince could form.

But

1547. Charles marches against the Elector of Saxony. April 13.

But as it was uncertain how long ſuch an interval of ſecurity might continue, Charles determined inſtantly to improve it; and as ſoon as he heard of Francis's demiſe, he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia. But the departure of the Papal troops, together with the retreat of the Flemings, had ſo much diminiſhed his army, that ſixteen thouſand men were all he could aſſemble. With this inconſiderable body he ſet out on an expedition, the event of which was to decide what degree of authority he ſhould poſſeſs from that period in Germany: but as this little army conſiſted chiefly of the veteran Spaniſh and Italian bands, he did not, in truſting to them, commit much to the deciſion of chance, and even with ſo ſmall a force he had reaſon to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. The Elector, it is true, had levied an army greatly ſuperior in number; but neither the experience and diſcipline of his troops, nor the abilities of his officers, were to be compared with thoſe of the Emperor. The Elector, beſides, had already been guilty of an error, which deprived him of all the advantage which he might have derived from his ſuperiority in number, and was alone ſufficient to have occaſion edhis ruin. Inſtead of keeping his forces united, he detached one great body towards the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to facilitate his junction with the malecontents of that kingdom, and cantoned a conſiderable part of what remained in different places of Saxony, where he expected the Emperor would make the firſt impreſſion, vainly imagining that theſe open towns, with ſmall garriſons, might be rendered tenable againſt an enemy.

Progreſs of his armies.

The Emperor entered the ſouthern frontier of Saxony, and attacked Altorf upon the Elſter. The folly of the meaſure which the Elector had taken was immediately ſeen, the troops poſted in that town ſurrendering without reſiſtance; and thoſe in all the other places between that and the Elbe, either imitated their example, or fled as the Imperialiſts approached. Charles, that they might not recover from the panic with which they ſeemed to be ſtruck, advanced without loſing a moment. The Elector, who had fixed his head quarters at Meiſſen, continued in his wonted ſtate of fluctuation and uncertainty. He even became more undetermined, in proportion as the danger grew near and called for prompt and deciſive reſolutions. Sometimes he acted, as if he had reſolved to defend the banks of the Elbe, and to hazard a

Book IX. 1547. battle with the enemy, as ſoon as the detachments which he had called were able to join him. At other times, he abandoned this as raſh and perilous, ſeeming to adopt the more prudent counſels of thoſe who adviſed him to endeavour at protracting the war, and for that end to retire under the fortifications of Wittemberg, where the Imperialiſts could not attack him without manifeſt diſadvantage, and where he might wait, in ſafety, for the ſuccours which he expected from Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and the Proteſtant cities on the Baltic. Without fixing upon either of theſe plans, he broke down the bridge at Meiſſen, and marched along the eaſt bank of the Elbe to Muhlberg. There he deliberated a new, and after much heſitation, adopted one of theſe middle ſchemes, which are always acceptable to feeble minds incapable of deciding. He left a detachment at Muhlberg to oppoſe the Imperialiſts, if they ſhould attempt to paſs at that place; and advancing a few miles with his main body, encamped there in expectation of the event, according to which he propoſed to regulate his ſubſequent motions.

Paſſes the Elbe. CHARLES, meanwhile, puſhing forward inceſſantly, arrived the evening of the twenty-third of April on the banks of the Elbe oppoſite to Muhlberg. The river, at that place, was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank poſſeſſed by the Saxons was higher than that which he occupied. Undiſmayed, however, by all theſe obſtacles, he called together his general officers, and without aſking their opinions, communicated to them his intention of attempting next morning to force his paſſage over the river, and to attack the enemy wherever he could come up with them. They all expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at ſuch a bold reſolution, and even the Duke of Alva, though naturally daring and impetuous, and Maurice of Saxony, notwithſtanding his impatience to cruſh his rival the Elector, remonſtrated earneſtly againſt it. But the Emperor, confiding in his own judgment, or good fortune, paid no regard to their arguments, and gave the orders neceſſary for executing his deſign.

EARLY in the morning, a body of Spaniſh and Italian foot marched towards the river, and began an inceſſant fire upon the enemy. The long heavy muſkets uſed in that age, did execution on the oppoſite bank, and many of

of the ſoldiers, hurried on by a martial ardour in order to get nearer the enemy, ruſhed into the ſtream, and advancing breaſt high, fired with a more certain aim, and with greater effect. Under cover of their fire, a bridge of boats was begun to be laid for the infantry; and a peaſant having undertaken to conduct the cavalry through the river by a ford with which he was well acquainted, they alſo were put in motion. The Saxons poſted in Muhlberg endeavoured to obſtruct theſe operations, by a briſk fire from a battery, which they had erected; but as a thick fog covered all the low grounds upon the river, they could not take aim with any certainty, and the Imperialiſts ſuffered very little; at the ſame time the Saxons being much galled by the Spaniards and Italians, they ſet on fire ſome boats which had been collected near the village, and prepared to retire. The Imperialiſts perceiving this, ten Spaniſh ſoldiers inſtantly ſtript themſelves, and holding their ſwords with their teeth, ſwam acroſs the river, put to flight ſuch of the Saxons as ventured to oppoſe them, ſaved from the flames as many boats as were ſufficient to complete their own bridge, and by this ſpirited and ſucceſsful action, encouraged their companions no leſs than they intimidated the enemy.

By this time, the cavalry, each trooper having a foot ſoldier behind him, began to enter the river, the light horſe marching in the front, followed by the men at arms, whom the Emperor led in perſon, mounted on a Spaniſh horſe, dreſſed in a ſumptuous habit, and carrying a javelin in his hand. Such a numerous body ſtruggling through a great river, in which according to the directions of their guide they were obliged to make ſeveral turns, ſometimes treading on a firm bottom, ſometimes ſwimming, preſented to their companions, whom they left behind, a ſpectacle equally magnificent and intereſting [d]. Their courage, at laſt, ſurmounted every obſtacle, no man betraying any ſymptom of fear, when the Emperor ſhared in the danger no leſs than the meaneſt ſoldier. The moment that they reached the oppoſite ſide, Charles, without waiting the arrival of the reſt of the infantry, advanced towards the Saxons with the troops which had paſſed along with him, who fluſhed with their good fortune, and deſpiſing an enemy who had neglected to oppoſe them, when it might have been done with ſuch ad-

[d] Avila, 115. a.

Book IX. vantage, made no account of their ſuperior numbers, and marched on as to a certain victory.

1547. Ill conduct of the Elector.

DURING all theſe operations, which neceſſarily conſumed much time, the Elector remained inactive in his camp; and from an infatuation which appears to be ſo amazing, that the beſt informed hiſtorians impute it to the treacherous arts of his generals, who deceived him by falſe intelligence, he would not believe that the Emperor had paſſed the river or could be ſo near at hand [e]. Being convinced, at laſt, of his fatal miſtake, by the concurring teſtimony of eye witneſſes, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. But a German army encumbered, as uſual, with baggage and artillery, could not be put ſuddenly in motion. They had ſcarce begun to march when the light troops of the enemy came in view, and the Elector ſaw an engagement to be unavoidable. As he was no leſs bold in action than irreſolute in council, he made the diſpoſition for battle with the greateſt preſence of mind, and in the moſt proper manner, taking advantage of a great foreſt to cover his wings, ſo as to prevent his being ſurrounded by the enemies cavalry, which were far more numerous than his own. The Emperor, likewiſe, ranged his men in order as they came up, and riding along the ranks, exhorted them with few but efficacious words to do their duty. It was with a very different ſpirit that the two armies advanced to the charge. As the day, which had hitherto been dark and cloudy, happened to clear up at that monent, this accidental circumſtance made an impreſſion on the different parties correſponding to the tone of their minds; the Saxons, ſurprized and diſheartened, felt pain at being expoſed fully to the view of the enemy; the Imperialiſts, being now ſecure that the Proteſtant forces could not eſcape from them, rejoiced at the return of ſunſhine as a certain preſage of victory. The ſhock of battle would not have been long or doubtful, if the perſonal courage which the Elector diſplayed, together with the activity which he exerted from the moment that the approach of the enemy rendered an engagement certain, and cut off all poſſibility of heſitation, had not revived in ſome degree the ſpirit of his trroops. They repulſed the Hungarian light horſe who began the attack, and re-

Battle of Mulhauſen.

[e] Camerar. ap. Freher. iii. 493. Struv. corp. hiſt. Germ. 1047, 1049.

ceived

ceived with firmneſs the men at arms who next advanced to the charge; but as theſe were the flower of the Imperial army, were commanded by experienced officers, and fought under the Emperor's eye, the Saxons ſoon began to give way, and the light troops rallying at the ſame time and falling on their flanks, the flight became general. A ſmall body of choſen ſoldiers, among whom the Elector had fought in perſon, ſtill continued to defend themſelves, and endeavoured to ſave their maſter by retiring into the foreſt; but being ſurrounded on every ſide, the Elector, wounded in the face, exhauſted with fatigue, and perceiving all reſiſtance to be vain, ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. He was conducted immediately towards the Emperor, whom he found juſt returned from the purſuit, ſtanding on the field of battle in the full exultation of ſucceſs, and receiving the congratulations of his officers, upon this compleat victory obtained by his valour and conduct. Even in ſuch an unfortunate and humbling ſituation, the Elector's behaviour was equally magnanimous and decent. Senſible of his condition, he approached his conqueror without any of the ſullenneſs or pride, which would have been improper in a captive; and conſcious of his own dignity, he deſcended to no mean ſubmiſſion, unbecoming the high ſtation which he held among the German Princes. "The fortune of war, ſaid he, has made me your priſoner, moſt gracious Emperor, and I hope to be treated"—— Here, Charles harſhly interrupted him. "And am I then, at laſt, acknowledged to be Emperor; Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You ſhall be treated as you deſerve." At theſe words, he turned from him abruptly, with an haughty air. To this cruel repulſe, the King of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, uſing expreſſions ſtill more ungenerous and inſulting. The Elector made no reply; but, with an unaltered countenance, which diſcovered neither aſtoniſhment nor dejection, accompanied the Spaniſh ſoldiers appointed to guard him [f].

The Elector defeated and taken priſoner.

His harſh reception by the Emperor.

THIS deciſive victory coſt the Imperialiſts only fifty men. Twelve hundred of the Saxons were killed chiefly in the purſuit, and a great number taken priſoners.

[f] Sleid. hiſt. 426. Thuan. 136. Hortenſius de Bello German. ap. Scard. vol. ii. 498. Deſcript. pugnæ Mulberg. ibid. p. 509. P. Heuter. Rer. Auſtr. lib. xii. c. 13. p. 298.

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About four hundred kept in a body, and escaped to Wittemberg, together with the electoral Prince, who had likewise been wounded in the action. After resting two days on the field of battle, partly to refresh his army, and partly to receive the deputies of the adjacent towns, which were impatient to secure his protection by submitting to his will, the Emperor began to move towards Wittemberg, that he might terminate the war at once, by the reduction of that city. The unfortunate Elector was carried along in a sort of triumph, and exposed every where, as a captive, to his own subjects; a spectacle extremely afflicting to them who both honoured and loved him; though the insult was so far from subduing his firm spirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and composure of his mind.

1547. Charles's progress after his victory.

As Wittemberg, the residence, in that age of the Electoral branch of the Saxon family, was one of the strongest cities in Germany, and would not be taken, if properly defended, without great difficulty, the Emperor marched thither with the utmost dispatch, hoping that while the consternation occasioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants might imitate the example of their countrymen, and submit to his power, as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the Elector's wife, a woman no less distinguished by her abilities than her virtue, instead of abandoning herself to tears and lamentation upon her husband's misfortune, endeavoured, by her example as well as exhortation, to animate the citizens; and she inspired them with such resolution, that, when summoned to surrender, they returned a vigorous answer, warning the Emperor to behave towards their sovereign with the respect due to his rank, as they were determined to treat Albert of Brandenburg, who was still a prisoner, precisely in the same manner that he treated him. The spirit of the inhabitants, no less than the strength of the city, seemed now to render a siege in form necessary. After such a signal victory it would have been disgraceful not to have undertaken it, though at the same time the Emperor was destitute of every thing requisite for carrying it on. But Maurice removed all difficulties, by engaging to furnish provisions, artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and whatever else should be needed. Trusting to this, Charles gave orders to open the trenches before the town. It quickly appeared, that Maurice's eagerness to reduce the capital of those dominions,

Invests Wittemberg.

dominions, which he expected as his reward for taking arms against his kinsman, and deserting the Protestant cause, had led him to promise what exceeded his power to perform. A battering train was, indeed, carried safely down the Elbe from Dresden to Wittemberg; but as Maurice had no sufficient force to preserve a secure communication between his territories, and the camp of the besiegers, Count Mansfeldt, who commanded a body of electoral troops, destroyed a convoy of provisions and military stores, and dispersed a band of pioneers destined for the service of the Imperialists. This put a stop to the progress of the siege, and convinced the Emperor that as he could not rely on Maurice's promises, recourse ought to be had to some more expeditious as well as more certain method of getting possession of the town. Book IX. 1547.

The Emperor's ungenerous treatment of the Elector.

THE unfortunate Elector was in his hands, and he was ungenerous and hard-hearted enough to take advantage of this, in order to make an experiment whether he might not bring about his design, by working upon the tenderness of a wife for her husband, or upon the piety of children towards their parent. With this view he summoned Sybilla a second time to open the gates, letting her know that if she again refused to comply, the Elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. To convnice her that this was not an empty threat, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial. The proceedings against him were as irregular, as the stratagem was barbarous. Instead of consulting the states of the Empire, or remitting the cause to any court, which according to the German constitution might have legally taken cognizance of the Elector's crime, he subjected the greatest prince in the Empire to the jurisdiction of a court-martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers, and in which the unrelenting Duke of Alva, a fit instrument for any act of violence, presided. This strange tribunal founded its charge upon the ban of the Empire which had been issued against the prisoner, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of the Emperor, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid; but presuming him to be thereby manifestly convicted of treason and rebellion, the court-martial condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded. This decree was intimated to the Elector while amusing himself in playing at Chess with Ernest of Brunswick his

May 10.

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1547. The Elector's magnanimity.

fellow-priſoner. He pauſed for a moment, tho' without any ſymptom either of ſurprize or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injuſtice of the Emperor's proceedings: "It is eaſy, continued he, to comprehend his ſcheme. I muſt die, becauſe Wittemberg will not ſurrender; and I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, if, by that ſacrifice, I can preſerve the dignity of my houſe, and tranſmit to my poſterity the inheritance which belongs to them. Would to God, that this ſentence may not affect my wife and children more than it intimidates me! and that they, for the ſake of adding a few days to a life already too long, may not renounce honours and territories which they were born to poſſeſs [g]." He then turned to his antagoniſt, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his uſual attention and ingenuity, and having beat Earneſt, expreſſed all the ſatisfaction which is commonly felt on gaining ſuch victories. After this he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the reſt of his time in ſuch religious exerciſes as were proper in his ſituation [h].

The diſtreſs of his family.

It was not with the ſame indifference or compoſure, that the account of the Elector's danger was received at Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had ſupported with ſuch undaunted fortitude her huſband's misfortunes, while ſhe imagined that they could reach no farther than to diminiſh his power or territories, felt all her reſolution fail the moment his life was threatened. Solicitous to ſave that, ſhe deſpiſed every other conſideration; and was willing to make any ſacrifice in order to appeaſe an incenſed conqueror. At the ſame time, the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, to none of whom Charles had communicated the true motives of his violent proceedings againſt the Elector, interceded warmly with him to ſpare his life. The firſt was prompted to do ſo merely by compaſſion for his ſiſter, and regard for his brother-in-law. The two other dreaded the univerſal reproach that they would incur, if, after having boaſted ſo often of the ample ſecurity which the Emperor had promiſed them with reſpect to their religion, the firſt effect of their union with him ſhould be the public execution of a Prince, who was juſtly held in reverence as the moſt zealous protector of the Prote-

[g] Thuan. i. 142. [h] Struvii corp. 1050.

ſtant

ſtant cauſe. Maurice, in particular, foreſaw that he muſt become the object of deteſtation to the Saxons, and could never hope to govern them with tranquillity, if he were conſidered by them as acceſſary to the death of his neareſt kinſman, in order that he might obtain poſſeſſion of his dominions. Book IX. 1547.

His treaty with Charles by which he ſurrenders the Electorate,

WHILE they, from ſuch various motives, ſolicited Charles, with the moſt earneſt importunity, not to execute the ſentence, Sybilla, and the reſt of the Elector's family, conjured him by letters as well as meſſengers to ſcruple at no conceſſions that would extricate him out of the preſent danger, and deliver them from their fears and anguiſh on his account. The Emperor, perceiving that the expedient which he had tried began to produce the effect he intended, fell by degrees from his former rigour, and allowed himſelf to ſoften into promiſes of clemency and forgiveneſs, if the Elector would ſhew himſelf worthy of his favour by ſubmitting to reaſonable terms. The Elector, on whom the conſideration of what he might ſuffer himſelf had made no impreſſion, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved, and could not reſiſt the entreaties of his family. In compli- May 19, ance with their repeated ſolicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain. The chief of them were, that he ſhould reſign the Electoral dignity, as well for himſelf as for his poſterity, into the Emperor's hands, to be diſpoſed of intirely at his pleaſure; that he ſhould inſtantly put the Imperial troops in poſſeſſion of the cities of Wittemberg and Gotha; that he ſhould ſet Albert of Brandenburg at liberty without ranſom; that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, and acquieſce in whatever reformation the Emperor ſhould make in the conſtitution of that court; that he ſhould renounce all leagues againſt the Emperor or King of the Romans, and enter into no alliance for the future, in which they were not comprehended. In return for theſe important conceſſions, the Emperor promiſed not only to ſpare his life, but to ſettle on him and his poſterity the city of Gotha and its territories, together with an annual penſion of fifty thouſand florins, payable out of the revenues of the electorate; and likewiſe to grant him a ſum in ready money to be applied towards the diſcharge of his debts. Even theſe articles of grace were clogged with the mortifying condition of his remaining the Emperor's

and remains a priſoner.

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peror's priſoner during the reſt of his life [i]. To the whole, Charles had ſubjoined, that he ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the Pope and council with regard to the controverted points in religion; but the Elector, though he had been perſuaded to ſacrifice all the objects which men commonly hold to be the deareſt and moſt valuable, was inflexible with regard to this point; and neither threats nor intreaties could prevail to make him renounce what he deemed to be truth, or perſuade him to act in oppoſition to the dictates of his conſcience.

Maurice put in poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions.

As ſoon as the Saxon garriſon marched out of Wittemberg, the Emperor fulfilled his engagements to Maurice; and in reward for his merit in having deſerted the Proteſtant cauſe, and having contributed with ſuch ſucceſs towards the diſſolution of the Smalkaldic league, he gave him poſſeſſion of that city, together with all the other towns in the electorate. It was not without reluctance, however, that he made ſuch a ſacrifice; the extraordinary ſucceſs of his arms had begun to operate, in its uſual manner, upon his ambitious mind, ſuggeſting new and vaſt projects for the aggrandizement of his family, towards the accompliſhment of which the retaining of Saxony would have been of the utmoſt conſequence. But as this ſcheme was not then ripe for execution, he durſt not yet venture to diſcloſe it; nor would it have been either ſafe or prudent to have offended Maurice, at that juncture, by ſuch a manifeſt violation of all the promiſes, which had ſeduced him to abandon his natural allies.

Negotiations with the Landgrave.

THE Landgrave, Maurice's father-in-law, was ſtill in arms; and though now left alone to maintain the Proteſtant cauſe, was neither a feeble nor contemptible enemy. His dominions were of conſiderable extent; his ſubjects animated with zeal for the Reformation; and if he could have held the Imperialiſts at bay for a ſhort time, he had much to hope from a party whoſe ſtrength was ſtill unbroken, whoſe union as well as vigour might return, and which had reaſon to depend, with certainty, on being effectually ſupported by the king of France. The Landgrave thought not of any thing ſo bold or adventurous; but being ſeized with the ſame conſternation which had taken poſſeſſion of his aſſociates, he was intent, only, how to procure favourable terms from the Emperor, whom he viewed as a conqueror, to whoſe will

[i] Sleid. 427. Thuan. i. 142. Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 332.

there

there was a neceſſity of ſubmitting. Maurice encouraged this tame and pacific ſpirit, by magnifying, on the one hand, the Emperor's power; by boaſting, on the other, of his own intereſt with his victorious ally; and by repreſenting the advantageous conditions which he could not fail of obtaining by his interceſſion for a friend, whom he was ſo ſolicitous to ſave. Sometimes, the Landgrave was induced to place ſuch unbounded confidence in his promiſes, that he was impatient to bring matters to a final accommodation. On other occaſions, the Emperor's exorbitant ambition, reſtrained neither by the ſcruples of decency, nor the maxims of juſtice, together with the recent and ſhocking proof which he had given of this in the cruel and oppreſſive treatment of the Elector of Saxony, came ſo full into his thoughts, and made ſuch a lively impreſſion on them, that he broke off abruptly the negotiations which he had begun; ſeeming to be convinced that it was more prudent to depend for ſafety on his own arms, than to confide in Charles's generoſity. But this bold reſolution, which deſpair had ſuggeſted to an impatient ſpirit, fretted by diſappointments, was not of long continuance. Upon a more deliberate ſurvey of the enemy's power, and his own weakneſs, his doubts and fears returned upon him, and together with them the ſpirit of negotiating, and the deſire of accommodation.

The conditions preſcribed by the Emperor.

MAURICE, and the Elector of Brandenburg, acted as mediators between him and the Emperor; and after all that the former had vaunted of his influence, the conditions preſcribed to the Landgrave were extremely rigorous. The articles with regard to his renouncing the league of Smalkalde, acknowledging the Emperor's authority, and ſubmitting to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, were the ſame which had been impoſed on the Elector of Saxony. Beſides theſe, he was required to ſurrender his perſon and territories to the Emperor; to implore for pardon on his knees; to pay an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns towards defraying the expences of the war; to demoliſh the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions except one; to oblige the garriſon which he placed in it to take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor; to allow a free paſſage through his territories to the Imperial troops as often as it ſhall be demanded; to deliver up all his artillery and ammunition to the Emperor; to ſet at liberty, without ranſom, Henry of Brunſwick, together with the other priſoners he had taken during

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during the war; and neither to take arms himſelf, for the future, nor ro permit any of his ſubjects to ſerve againſt the Emperor or his allies [a].

To which he ſubmits.

THE Landgrave ratified theſe articles, though with the utmoſt reluctance, as they contained no ſtipulation with regard to the manner in which he was to be treated, and left him intirely at the Emperor's mercy. Neceſſity, however, compelled him to give his aſſent. Charles, who had aſſumed the haughty and imperious tone of a conqueror, ever ſince the reduction of Saxony, inſiſted on an unconditional ſubmiſſion, and would permit nothing to be added to the terms which he had preſcribed, that could in any degree limit the fulneſs of his power, or reſtrain him from behaving as he ſaw meet towards a Prince whom he regarded as abſolutely at his diſpoſal. But though he would not vouchſafe to negotiate with the Landgrave, on ſuch a footing of equality, as to ſuffer any article to be inſerted among thoſe which he had dictated to him, that could be conſidered as a formal ſtipulation for the ſecurity and freedom of his perſon; he, or his miniſters in his name, gave the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice ſuch full ſatisfaction with regard to this point, that they aſſured the Landgrave that Charles would behave to him in the ſame way that he had done to the Duke of Wurtemberg, and would allow him, as ſoon as he had made his ſubmiſſion, to return to his own territories. Upon finding the Landgrave to be ſtill poſſeſſed with his former ſuſpicions of the Emperor's intentions, and unwilling to truſt verbal or ambiguous declarations, in a matter of ſuch eſſential concern as his own liberty, they ſent him a bond ſigned by them both, containing the moſt ſolemn obligations, that if any violence whatſoever were offered to his perſon, during his interview with the Emperor, they would inſtantly ſurrender themſelves to his ſons, and remain in their hands to be treated by them in the ſame manner as the Emperor ſhould treat him [b].

He repairs to the Imperial court.

THIS, together with the indiſpenſable obligation of performing what was contained in the articles of which he had accepted, removed his doubts and ſcruples, or made it neceſſary to get over them. He repaired, for that purpoſe, to the Imperial camp at Hall in Saxony,

[a] Sleid. 430. Thuan. l. iv. 146.
[b] Du Mont. Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11, 336.

where

where a circumſtance occurred which revived his ſuſpicions and increaſed his fears. Juſt as he was about to enter the chamber of preſence, in order to make his public ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, a copy of the articles which he had approved of was put into his hands, in order that he might ratify them anew. Upon peruſing them, he perceived that the Imperial miniſters had added two new articles; one importing, that if any diſpute ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of the former conditions, the Emperor ſhould have the right of putting what interpretation upon them he thought moſt reaſonable; the other, that the Landgrave was bound to ſubmit implicitly to the deciſions of the council of Trent. This unworthy artifice, calculated to ſurprize him into an approbation of articles, to which he had not the moſt diſtant idea of aſſenting, by preſenting them to him at a time when his mind was engroſſed and diſquieted with the thoughts of that humbling ceremony which he had to perform, filled the Landgrave with indignation, and made him fly out into all thoſe violent expreſſions of rage to which his temper was prone. With ſome difficulty, the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice prevailed at length on the Emperor's miniſters to drop the former article as unjuſt, and to explain the latter in ſuch a manner, that he could agree to it, without openly renouncing the Proteſtant religion.

The manner in which the Emperor received him.

THIS obſtacle being ſurmounted, the Landgrave was impatient to finiſh a ceremony which, how mortifying ſoever, had been declared neceſſary towards his obtaining pardon. The Emperor was ſeated on a magnificent throne, with all the enſigns of his dignity, ſurrounded by a numerous train of the Princes of the Empire, among whom was Henry of Brunſwick, lately the Landgrave's priſoner, and now, by a ſudden reverſe of fortune, a ſpectator of his humiliation. The Landgrave was introduced with great ſolemnity, and advancing towards the throne, fell upon his knees. His chancellor, who walked behind him, immediately read, by his maſter's command, a paper which contained an humble confeſſion of the crime whereof he had been guilty; an acknowledgment that he had merited on that account the moſt ſevere puniſhment; an abſolute reſignation of himſelf and his dominions to be diſpoſed of at the Emperor's pleaſure; a ſubmiſſive petition for pardon, his hopes of which were founded intirely on the Emperor's clemency; and it

oncluded,

Book IX. 1547. concluded, with promiſes of behaving, for the future, like a ſubject, whoſe principles of loyalty and obedience would be confirmed, and would even derive new force from the ſentiments of gratitude which muſt hereafter fill and animate his heart. While the chancellor was reading this abject declaration, the eyes of all the ſpectators were fixed on the unfortunate Landgrave; few could behold a Prince, ſo powerful as well as high-ſpirited, ſuing for mercy in the poſture of a ſuppliant, without being touched with commiſeration, and perceiving ſerious reflections ariſe in their minds upon the inſtability and emptineſs of human grandeur. The Emperor viewed the whole tranſaction with an haughty, unfeeling compoſure; and preſerving a profound ſilence himſelf, made a ſign to one of his ſecretaries to read his anſwer; the tenor of which was, That though he might have juſtly inflicted on him the grievous puniſhment which his crimes deſerved, yet, prompted by his own generoſity, moved by the ſolicitations of ſeveral Princes in behalf of the Landgrave, and influenced by his penitential acknowledgments, he would not deal with him according to the rigour of juſtice, and would ſubject him to no penalty which was not ſpecified in the articles that he had already ſubſcribed. The moment the ſecretary had finiſhed, Charles turned away abruptly without deigning to give the unhappy ſuppliant any ſign of compaſſion or reconcilement. He did not even deſire him to riſe from his knees; which the Landgrave having ventured to do unbidden, advanced towards the Emperor with an intention to kiſs his hand, flattering himſelf, that his guilt being now fully expiated, he might preſume to take that liberty. But the Elector of Brandenburg perceiving that this familiarity would be offenſive to the Emperor, interpoſed, and deſired the Landgrave to go along with him and Maurice to the Duke of Alva's apartments in the caſtle.

He is detained a priſoner.

He was received and entertained by that nobleman with the reſpect and courteſy due to ſuch a gueſt. But, after ſupper, while he was engaged in play, the Duke took the Elector and Maurice aſide, and communicated to them the Emperor's orders that the Landgrave muſt remain a priſoner in that place under the cuſtody of a Spaniſh guard. As they had not hitherto entertained the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of the Emperor's ſincerity and rectitude of intention, their ſurprize was exceſſive, and their indignation

indignation not inferior to it, on discovering how greatly they had been deceived themselves, and how infamously abused in having been made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend. They had recourse to complaints, to arguments and to intreaties, in order to save themselves from that disgrace, and to extricate him out of the wretched situation into which he had been betrayed by too great confidence in them. But the Duke of Alva remained inflexible, and pleaded the necessity of executing the Emperor's commands. By this time it grew late, and the Landgrave, who knew nothing of what had passed, nor dreaded the snare in which he was entangled, prepared for departing, when the fatal orders were intimated to him. He was struck dumb at first with astonishment, but after being silent a few moments, he broke out into all the violent expressions which horror at injustice accompanied with fraud naturally suggests. He complained, he expostulated, he exclaimed; sometimes inveighing against the Emperor's artifices as unworthy of a great and generous Prince; sometimes censuring the credulity of his friends in trusting to Charles's insidious promises; sometimes charging them with meanness in stooping to lend their assistance towards the execution of such a perfidious and dishonourable scheme; and in the end he required them to remember their engagements to his children, and instantly to fulfil them. They, after giving way for a little to the torrent of his passion, solemnly asserted their own innocence and upright intention in the whole transaction, and encouraged him to hope, that as soon as they saw the Emperor, they would obtain redress of an injury, which affected their own honour, no less than it did his liberty. At the same time, in order to sooth his rage and impatience, Maurice remained with him during the night, in the apartment where he was confined [d].

The Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice solicit in vain for his liberty.

Next morning, the Elector and Maurice applied jointly to the Emperor, representing the infamy to which they would be exposed throughout Germany, if the Landgrave were detained in custody; that they would not have advised, nor would he himself have consented to an interview, if they had suspected that the loss of his liberty

[d] Sleid. 433. Thuan. l. iv. 147. Struv. corp. hist. Germ. ii. 1052.

Book IX. 1547. liberty was to be the conſequence of his ſubmiſſion; that they were bound to procure his releaſe, having plighted their faith to that effect, and engaged their own perſons as ſureties for his. Charles liſtened to their earneſt remonſtrances with the utmoſt coolneſs. He now ſtood no longer in need of their ſervices, and they had the mortification to find that their former obſequiouſneſs was forgotten, and little regard paid to their interceſſion. He was ignorant, he told them, of their particular or private tranſactions with the Landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by theſe; though he knew well what he himſelf had promiſed, which was not that the Landgrave ſhould be exempt from all reſtraint, but that he ſhould not be kept a priſoner during life [e] Having ſaid this with a peremptory and deciſive tone, he put an end to the conference; and they ſeeing no probability, at that time, of making any impreſſion upon the Emperor, who ſeemed to have taken his reſolution deliberately, and to be obſtinately bent on adhering to it, were obliged to acquaint the unfortunate priſoner with the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours in his behalf. This diſappointment threw him into a new and more violent tranſport of rage, ſo that to prevent his proceeding to ſome deſperate extremity, the Elector and Maurice promiſed that they would not quit the Emperor, until, by the frequency and fervour of their importunity, they had extorted his conſent to ſet him free. They accordingly renewed their ſolicitations a few days afterwards, but found Charles more haughty and intractable than before, and were warned that if they touched again upon a ſubject ſo diſagreeable, and with regard to

[e] According to ſeveral hiſtorians of great name, the Emperor, in his treaty with the Landgrave, ſtipulated that he would not detain him in any priſon. But in executing the deed, which was written in the German tongue, the Imperial miniſters fraudulently ſubſtituted the word *ewiger* inſtead of *einiger*, and thus the treaty, in place of a promiſe that he ſhould not be detained in *any* priſon, contained only an engagement that he ſhould not be detained in perpetual impriſonment. But authors eminent for hiſtorical knowledge and critical accuracy have called in queſtion the truth of this common ſtory. The ſilence of Sleiden with regard to it, as well as its not being mentioned in the various memorials which he has publiſhed concerning the Landgrave's impriſonment, greatly favour this opinion. But as ſeveral books which contain the information neceſſary towards diſcuſſing this point, with accuracy, are written in the German language, which I do not underſtand, I cannot pretend to enquire into this matter with the ſame accuracy, with which I have endeavoured to ſettle ſome other controverted facts that have occurred in the courſe of this hiſtory. See Struv. Corp. 1052. Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 161, 162. Engl. Edit.

which

which he had determined to hear nothing farther, he would instantly give orders to convey the prisoner into Spain. Afraid of hurting the Landgrave by an officious or ill-timed zeal to serve him, they not only desisted, but left the court, and as they did not choose to meet the first sallies of the Landgrave's rage upon his learning the cause of their departure, they informed him of it by a letter, wherein they exhorted him to fulfil all that he had promised to the Emperor, as the most certain means of procuring a speedy release.

His impatience under restraint.

WHATEVER violent emotions their abandoning his cause in this manner occasioned, his impatience to recover liberty made him follow their advice. He paid the sum which had been imposed on him, ordered his fortresses to be razed, and renounced all alliances that could give offence. This prompt compliance with the will of the conqueror produced no effect. He was still guarded with the same vigilant severity; and being carried about, with the degraded Elector of Saxony, wherever the Emperor went, their disgrace and his triumph was each day renewed. The fortitude and equanimity, with which the Elector bore these repeated insults, were not more remarkable than the Landgrave's fretfulness and impatience. His active impetuous mind could ill brook restraint; and reflection upon the shameful artifices by which he had been decoyed into that situation, as well as indignation at the injustice with which he was still detained in it, drove him often to the wildest excesses of passion.

The rigour of the Emperor's exactions in Germany.

THE people of the different cities, to whom Charles thus wantonly exposed these illustrious prisoners as a public spectacle, were sensibly touched with such an insult offered to the Germanic body, and murmured loudly at this indecent treatment of two of its greatest Princes. They had soon other causes of complaint, and such as affected them more nearly. Charles proceeded to add oppression to insult, and arrogating to himself all the rights of a conqueror, exercised them with the utmost rigour. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores belonging to such as had been members of the Smalkaldic league, and having collected upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, a great number in that age, he sent part of them into the Low-Countries, part into Italy, and part into Spain, in order to spread by this means the fame of his success, and that they might serve as monuments of his having subdued a nation,

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hitherto deemed invincible. He then levied, by his ſole authority, large ſums as well upon thoſe who had ſerved him with fidelity during the war, as upon ſuch as had been in arms againſt him; upon the former, as their contingent towards a war, which having been undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit, ought to be carried on at the common charge; upon the latter, as a fine by way of puniſhment for their rebellion. By theſe exactions he amaſſed above one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum which appeared prodigious in the ſixteenth century. But ſo general was the conſternation which had ſeized the Germans upon his rapid ſucceſs, and ſuch their dread of his victorious troops, that all implicitly obeyed his commands; though, at the ſame time, theſe extraordinary ſtretches of power greatly alarmed a people, jealous of their privileges, and habituated during ſeveral ages to conſider the Imperial authority as neither extenſive nor formidable. This diſcontent and reſentment, how induſtriouſly ſoever they concealed them, became univerſal; and the more theſe paſſions were reſtrained and kept down for the preſent, the more likely were they to burſt out ſoon with additional violence.

Ferdinand's encroachments on the liberties of his Bohemian ſubjects.

WHILE Charles gave law to the Germans like a conquered people, Ferdinand treated his ſubjects in Bohemia with ſtill greater rigour. That kingdom poſſeſſed privileges and immunities as extenſive as thoſe of any nation in which the feudal inſtitutions were eſtabliſhed. The prerogative of their Kings was extremely limited, and the crown itſelf elective. Ferdinand, when placed on the throne, had confirmed their liberties with every ſolemnity preſcribed by their exceſſive ſolicitude for the ſecurity of a conſtitution of government to which they were extremely attached. He ſoon began, however, to be weary of a juriſdiction ſo much circumſcribed, and to deſpiſe a ſceptre which he could not tranſmit to his poſterity; and notwithſtanding all his former engagements, he attempted to overturn the conſtitution from its foundations; that inſtead of an elective kingdom he might render it hereditary. But the Bohemians ſeemed reſolved not to relinquiſh, tamely, privileges which they had long enjoyed. At the ſame time, many of them having embraced the doctrines of the Reformers, the ſeeds of which John Huſs and Jerome of Prague had planted in their country about the beginning of the preceding

ceding century, the desire of acquiring religious liberty mingled itself with their zeal for their civil rights; and these two kindred passions heightening, as usual, each other's force, precipitated them immediately into violent measures. They had not only refused to serve their sovereign against the confederates of Smalkalde, but having entered into a close alliance with the Elector of Saxony, they bound themselves, by a solemn association, to defend their ancient constitution; and to persist, until they should obtain such additional grants as they thought necessary towards perfecting the present model of their government, or rendering it more permanent. They chose Caspar Phlug, a nobleman of distinction, to be their general; and levied an army of thirty thousand men to enforce their petitions. But either from the weakness of their leader, or from the dissensions in a great unwieldy body, which having united hastily, was not thoroughly compacted, or from some other unknown cause, the subsequent operations of the Bohemians bore no proportion to the zeal and ardour with which they took their first resolutions. They suffered themselves to be amused so long with negotiations and overtures of different kinds, that before they could enter Saxony, the battle of Muhlberg was fought, the Elector deprived of his dignity and territories, the Landgrave confined to close custody, and the league of Smalkalde entirely dissipated. The same dread of the Emperor's power which had seized the rest of the Germans, reached them. As soon as their sovereign approached with a body of Imperial troops, they instantly dispersed, thinking of nothing but how to atone for their past guilt, and to acquire some hope of forgiveness, by a prompt submission. But Ferdinand, who entered his dominions full of that implacable resentment which inflames Monarchs whose authority has been despised, was not to be mollified by the late repentance and involuntary return of rebellious subjects to their duty. He even heard, unmoved, the intreaties and tears of the citizens of Prague, who appeared before him in the posture of suppliants, and implored for mercy. The sentence which he pronounced against them was rigorous to extremity; he abolished many of their privileges, he abridged others, and new modelled the constitution according to his pleasure. He punished many of those who

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had been moſt active in forming the late aſſociation againſt him with death, and ſtill a greater number with confiſcation of their goods, or perpetual baniſhment. He obliged all his ſubjects, of every condition, to give up their arms to be depoſited in forts where he planted garriſons; and after diſarming his people, he loaded them with new and exorbitant taxes. Thus, by an ill conducted and unſucceſsful effort to extend their privileges, the Bohemians not only enlarged the ſphere of the royal prerogative which they intended to have circumſcribed, but they almoſt annihilated thoſe liberties which they aimed at eſtabliſhing on a broader and more ſecure foundation [n].

Diet held at Augſburg.

THE Emperor, having now humbled, and, as he imagined, ſubdued the independent and ſtubborn ſpirit of the Germans by the terror of arms and the rigour of puniſhment, held a diet at Augſburg, in order to compoſe finally the controverſies with regard to religion, which had ſo long diſturbed the Empire. He durſt not, however, truſt the determination of a matter ſo intereſting to the free ſuffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were to ſubjection. He entered the city at the head of his Spaniſh troops, and aſſigned them quarters there. The reſt of his ſoldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages; ſo that the members of the diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were ſurrounded by the ſame army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his public entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took poſſeſſion by force of the cathedral together with one of the principal churches; and his prieſts having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they ſuppoſed the unhallowed miniſtrations of the Proteſtants to have defiled them, they re-eſtabliſhed with great pomp the rites of the Romiſh worſhip [o]

The Emperor exhorts them to ſubmit to the General Council.

THE concourſe of members to this diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, and the fear of giving offence to the Emperor by an abſence which lay open to miſconſtruction, brought together almoſt all the Princes, nobles and re-

[n] Sleid. 408, 419, 434. Thuan. l. iv. 129, 150. Struv. Corp. ii.
[o] Sleid. 435, 437.

preſentatives

preſentatives of cities who had right to ſit in that aſſembly. The Emperor, in the ſpeech with which he opened the meeting, called their attention immediately to the point, which ſeemed chiefly to merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of the religious diſſenſions which had ariſen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a general council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to theſe evils, he exhorted them to recognize its authority, and to ſtand to the award of an aſſembly, to which they had originally appealed, as having the ſole right of judgment in the caſe.

Various revolutions in the council.

BUT the council, to which Charles wiſhed them to refer all their controverſies, had, by this time, undergone a violent change. The fear and jealouſy, with which the Emperor's firſt ſucceſs againſt the confederates of Smalkalde had inſpired the Pope, continued to increaſe. Not ſatisfied with attempting to retard the progreſs of the Imperial arms, by the ſudden recall of his troops, Paul began to conſider the Emperor as an enemy, the weight of whoſe power he muſt ſoon feel, and againſt whom he could not be too haſty in taking precautions. He foreſaw that the immediate effect of the Emperor's acquiring abſolute power in Germany, would be to render him entirely maſter of all the deciſions of the council, if it ſhould continue to meet in Trent. It was dangerous to allow a Monarch, ſo ambitious, to get the command of this formidable engine, which he might employ at pleaſure to limit or overturn the Papal authority. As the only method of preventing this, he determined to tranſlate the council to ſome city more immediately under his own juriſdiction, and at a greater diſtance from the terror of the Emperor's arms, or the reach of his influence. An incident fortunately occurred which gave this meaſure the appearance of being neceſſary. One or two of the fathers of the council, together with ſome of their domeſtics, happening to die ſuddenly, the phyſicians, deceived by the ſymptoms, or ſuborned by the Pope's legates, pronounced the diſtemper to be infectious and peſtilential. Some of the prelates, ſtruck with a panic, retired; others were impatient to be gone; and after a ſhort conſultation, the council was tranſlated to Bologna, a city ſubject to the Pope. All the biſhops in the Imperial intereſt, warmly oppoſed this reſolution, as taken without neceſſity, and founded on falſe or frivolous pretexts. All the

March 11. Tranſlated from Trent to Bologna.

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Spaniſh prelates, and moſt of the Neapolitan, by the Emperor's expreſs command, remained at Trent; the reſt, to the number of thirty four, accompanying the legates to Bologna. Thus a ſchiſm commenced, in that very aſſembly, which had been called to heal the diviſions of Chriſtendom; the fathers of Bologna inveighing againſt thoſe who ſtaid at Trent, as contumacious and regardleſs of the Pope's authority; while the others accuſed them of being ſo far intimidated by the fears of imaginary danger, as to remove to a place where their conſultations could prove of no ſervice towards re-eſtabliſhing peace and order in Germany [P].

Symptoms of diſguſt between the Pope and Emperor.

THE Emperor, at the ſame time, employed all his intereſt to procure the return of the council to Trent. But Paul, who highly applauded his own ſagacity in having taken a ſtep which put it out of Charles's power to acquire the direction of that aſſembly, paid no regard to a requeſt, the object of which was ſo extremely obvious. The ſummer was conſumed in fruitleſs negotiations with reſpect to this point, the importunity of the one and the obſtinacy of the other daily increaſing. At laſt an event happened which widened the breach irreparably, and rendered the Pope utterly averſe from liſtening to any propoſal that came from the Emperor. Charles, as has been already obſerved, had ſo violently exaſperated Peter Lewis Farneſe, the Pope's ſon, by refuſing to grant him the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia, that he had watched ever ſince that time with all the vigilance of reſentment for an opportunity of revenging that injury. He had endeavoured to precipitate his father into open hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, and had earneſtly ſolicited the King of France to invade Italy. His hatred and reſentment extended to all thoſe whom he knew that the Emperor favoured; he perſecuted Gonzaga, governor of Milan, with ill offices, and had encouraged Fieſco in his attempt upon the life of Andrew Doria, becauſe both Gonzaga and Doria poſſeſſed a great degree of the Emperor's eſteem and confidence. His malevolence and ſecret intrigues were not unknown to the Emperor, who could not be more deſirous to take vengeance on him, than Gonzaga and Doria were to be employed as his in-

[P] F. Paul, 248, &c.

ſtruments

ſtruments in inflicting it. Farneſe, by the profligacy of his life, and by enormities of every kind, equal to thoſe committed by the worſt tyrants who have diſgraced human nature, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that they thought any violence whatever might be attempted againſt him. They ſoon found among his own ſubjects, perſons who were eager, and even deemed it meritorious to lend their hands in ſuch a ſervice. As he, animated with the jealouſy which uſually poſſeſſes petty ſovereigns, had employed all the cruelty and fraud, whereby they endeavour to ſupply their defect of power, in order to humble and extirpate the nobility ſubject to his government, five noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction in Placentia, combined to avenge the injuries, which they themſelves had ſuffered, as well as thoſe which he had offered to their order. They formed their plan in conjunction with Gonzaga; but it remains uncertain whether he originally ſuggeſted the ſcheme to them, or only approved of what they propoſed, and co-operated in carrying it on. They concerted all the previous ſteps with ſuch foreſight, conducted their intrigues with ſuch ſecrecy, and diſplayed ſuch courage in the execution of their deſign, that it may be ranked among the moſt audacious deeds of that nature mentioned in hiſtory. One body of the conſpirators ſurprized, at mid-day, the gates of the citadel of Placentia where Farneſe reſided, overpowered his guards, and murdered him. Another party of them made themſelves maſters of the town, and called upon their fellow-citizens to take arms, in order to reaſſume their liberty. The multitude ran towards the citadel, from which three great guns, a ſignal concerted with Gonzaga, had been fired; and before they could gueſs the cauſe or the authors of the tumult, they ſaw the lifeleſs body of the tyrant hanging by the heels from one of the windows of the citadel. But ſo univerſally deteſtable had he become, that not one expreſſed any ſentiment of concern at ſuch a ſad reverſe of fortune, or of indignation at this ignominious treatment of a ſovereign Prince. The exultation at the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy was general, and all applauded the actors in it, as the deliverers of their country. The body was tumbled into the ditch that ſurrounded the citadel, and expoſed to the inſults of the rabble; the reſt of the citizens returned to their uſual occupations, as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

Sept. 10. The aſſaſſination of the Pope's ſon.

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1547. The Imperial troops take poſſeſſion of Placentia.

BEFORE next morning, a body of troops arriving from the frontiers of the Milaneſe, where they had been poſted in expectation of the event, took poſſeſſion of the city in the Emperor's name, and reinſtated the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges. Parma, which the Imperialiſts attempted likewiſe to ſurprize, was ſaved by the vigilance and fidelity of the officers whom Farneſe had intruſted with the command of the garriſon. The death of a ſon whom, notwithſtanding his infamous vices, Paul loved with an exceſs of parental tenderneſs, overwhelmed him with the deepeſt affliction; and the loſs of a city, of ſuch conſequence as Placentia, greatly embittered his ſorrow. He accuſed Gonzaga, in open conſiſtory, of having committed a cruel murder in order to prepare the way for an unjuſt uſurpation, and immediately demanded of the Emperor ſatisfaction for both; for the former, by the puniſhment of Gonzaga; for the latter, by the reſtitution of Placentia to his grandſon, Octavio, its rightful owner. But Charles, who, rather than quit a prize of ſuch value, was willing to expoſe himſelf to the imputation of being acceſſary to the crime which had given an opportunity of ſeizing it, and to bear the infamy of defrauding his own ſon-in-law of the inheritance which belonged to him, eluded all his ſolicitations, and determined to keep poſſeſſion of the city together with its territories [q].

The Pope courts the alliance of the French King and the Venetians.

THIS reſolution, flowing from an ambition ſo rapacious, as to be reſtrained by no conſideration either of decency or juſtice, tranſported the Pope ſo far beyond his uſual moderation and caution, that he was eager to take arms againſt the Emperor in order to be avenged on the murderers of his ſon, and to recover the inheritance wreſted from his family. Conſcious, however, of his own inability to contend with ſuch an enemy, he warmly ſolicited the French King and the republick of Venice to join in an offenſive league againſt Charles. But Henry was intent at that time on other objects. His ancient allies the Scots, having been defeated by the Engliſh in one of the greateſt battles ever fought between theſe two rival nations, he was about to ſend a numerous body of veteran troops into that country, as well to preſerve it from being conquered, as to gain the acquiſition of a new kingdom to the French monarchy, by marrying his ſon

[q] F. Paul. 257. Pallavic. 41, 42. Thuan. iv. 156. Mem. de Ribier. 59, 67. Natalis Comitis Hiſtor. lib. iii. p. 64.

the

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the Dauphin to the young Queen of Scotland. An undertaking accompanied with ſuch manifeſt advantages, the ſucceſs of which appeared to be ſo certain, was not to be relinquiſhed for the remote proſpect of benefit from an alliance depending upon the precarious life of a Pope of fourſcore, who had nothing at heart but the gratification of his own private reſentment. Inſtead, therefore, of ruſhing headlong into the alliance propoſed, Henry amuſed the Pope with ſuch general profeſſions and promiſes, as might keep him from any thoughts of endeavouring to accommodate his differences with the Emperor, but at the ſame time avoided any ſuch engagement as might occaſion an immediate rupture between Charles and himſelf, or precipitate him into a war for which he was not prepared. The Venetians, though much alarmed at ſeeing Placentia in the hands of the Imperialiſts, imitated the wary conduct of the French King, which reſembled ſo nearly the ſpirit with which they themſelves uſually carried on their negotiations [r].

The diet of Augſburg petitions for the return of the council to Trent.

BUT, though the Pope found that it was not in his power to light up immediately the flames of war, he did not forget the injuries, which he was obliged for the preſent to endure; reſentment ſettled deeper in his mind, and became more rancorous in proportion as he felt the difficulty of gratifying it. It was, while theſe ſentiments of enmity were in full force, and the deſire of vengeance at its height, that the diet of Augſburg, by the emperor's command, petitioned the Pope, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. Charles had been at great pains in bringing the members to join in this requeſt. Having obſerved a conſiderable variety of ſentiments among the Proteſtants with reſpect to the ſubmiſſion which he had required to the decrees of the council, ſome of them being altogether intractable, while others were ready to acknowledge its right of juriſdiction upon certain conditions, he employed all his addreſs in order to gain or to divide them. He threatened and over-awed the Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, and obnoxious to vengeance on account of the aſſiſtance which he had given to the confederates of Smalkalde. The hope of procuring

[r] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 63, 71, 78, 85, 95. Paruta Iſtor. di Venez. 199, 203. Thuan. iv. 160.

liberty

Book IX. 1547. liberty for the Landgrave, together with the formal confirmation of his own electoral dignity, overcame Maurice's ſcruples, or prevented him from oppoſing what he knew would be agreeable to the Emperor. The Elector of Brandenburgh, leſs influenced by religious zeal than any Prince of that age, was eaſily induced to imitate their example in aſſenting to all that the Emperor required. The deputies of the cities remained ſtill to be brought over; they were more tenacious of their principles, and though every thing that could operate either on their hopes or fears was tried, the utmoſt that they would promiſe was to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the council, if effectual proviſion were made for ſecuring the divines of all parties free acceſs to that aſſembly, with intire liberty of debate; and if all points in controverſy were decided according to ſcripture and the uſage of the primitive church. But when the memorial containing this declaration was preſented to the Emperor, he ventured to put in practice a very extraordinary artifice. Without reading the paper, or taking any notice of the conditions on which they had inſiſted, he ſeemed to take it for granted that they had complied with his demand, and gave thanks to the deputies for their full and unreſerved ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the council. The deputies, though aſtoniſhed at what they had heard, did not attempt to ſet him right, both parties being better pleaſed that the matter ſhould remain under this ſtate of ambiguity, than to puſh for an explanation, which muſt have occaſioned a diſpute, and would have led, perhaps, to a rupture [s].

Oct. 29.

The Pope eludes the demand.

HAVING obtained this ſeeming ſubmiſſion of the diet to the authority of the council, Charles employed that as an argument to enforce their petition for its return to Trent. But the Pope, from the ſatisfaction of mortifying the Emperor, as well as from his own averſion to what was demanded, reſolved, without heſitation, that this petition ſhould be rejected; though in order to avoid the imputation of being influenced wholly by reſentment, he had the addreſs to throw it upon the fathers at Bologna, to put a direct negative upon the requeſt. He referred to their conſideration the petition of the diet, and they, ready to confirm by their aſſent whatever the legates were pleaſed to dictate, declared that the council

Dec. 20.

(s) F. Paul, 259. Sleid. 440. Thuan. tom. i. 155.

could

could not, in consistence with its dignity, return to Trent, unless the prelates who, by remaining there, had discovered a schismatick spirit, would first repair to Bologna, and join their brethren; and that, even after their junction, the council could not renew its consultations with any prospect of benefit to the church, if the Germans did not prove their intention of obeying its future decrees to be sincere, by yielding immediate obedience to those which it had already passed [t]. 1547.

THIS answer was communicated to the Emperor by the Pope, who at the same time exhorted him to comply with demands that appeared to be so reasonable. But Charles was better acquainted with the duplicity of the Pope's character than to be deceived by such a gross artifice; he knew that the prelates of Bologna durst utter no sentiment but what Paul inspired; and, therefore, overlooking them as mere instruments in the hand of another, he considered their reply as a full discovery of the Pope's intentions. As he could no longer hope to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his own plan, he saw it to be necessary that Paul should not have it in his power to turn against him the authority of so venerable an assembly. In order to prevent this, he sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in the presence of the legates, protested, That the translation of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded on false or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and schismatical conventicle; that all its decisions ought of course to be held as null and invalid; and that as the Pope, together with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended on him, had abandoned the care of the church, the Emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened. A few days after, the Imperial ambassador at Rome demanded an audience of the Pope, and in presence of all the Cardinals as well as foreign ministers, protested against the proceedings of the prelates at Bologna, in terms equally harsh and disrespectful [u].

The Emperor protests against the council of Bologna.

1548. January 16.

Jan. 25.

[t] F. Paul, 250. Pallav. ii. 49.

[u] F. Paul, 264. Pallav. 51. Sleid. 4, 6. Goldasti Constit. Imperial. i. 561.

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1548. The Emperor prepares a ſyſtem, to ſerve as the rule of faith in Germany.

It was not long before Charles proceeded to carry theſe threats, which greatly alarmed both the Pope and council at Bologna, into execution. He let the diet know the ill ſucceſs of his endeavours to procure a favourable anſwer to their petitions, and that the Pope, equally regardleſs of their entreaties, and of his ſervices to the church, had refuſed to gratify them by allowing the council to meet again at Trent; that, though all hope of holding this aſſembly in a place where they might look for freedom of debate and judgment, was not to be given up, the proſpect of it was, at preſent, diſtant and uncertain: that, in the mean time, Germany was torn in pieces by religious diſſenſions, the purity of the faith corrupted, and the minds of the people diſquieted with a multiplicity of new opinions and controverſies formerly unknown among Chriſtians; that, moved by the duty which he owed to them as their ſovereign, and to the Church as its protector, he had employed ſome divines, of known abilities and learning, to prepare a ſyſtem of doctrine, to which all ſhould conform until a council, ſuch as they wiſhed for, could be convocated. This ſyſtem was compiled by Pflug, Helding, and Agricola, of whom the two former were dignitaries in the Romiſh church, but remarkable for their pacific and healing ſpirit; the laſt was a Proteſtant divine, ſuſpected, not without reaſon, of having been gained by bribes and promiſes, to betray or miſlead his party on this occaſion. The articles preſented to the diet of Ratiſbon in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-one, in order to reconcile the contending parties, ſerved as a model for the preſent work. But as the Emperor's ſituation was much changed ſince that time, and he found it no longer neceſſary to manage the Proteſtants with the ſame delicacy as at that juncture, the conceſſions in their favour were not now ſo numerous, nor did they extend to points of ſo much conſequence. The treatiſe contained a compleat ſyſtem of theology, conformable in almoſt every article to the tenets of the Romiſh church, though expreſſed, for the moſt part, in the ſofteſt words, or in ſcriptural phraſes, or in terms of ſtudied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to popery, was retained; and all the rites, which the Proteſtants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worſhip of God, were enjoined. With regard to two points only, ſome relaxation

ation of their rigour was granted, and ſome latitude in practice admitted. Such eccleſiaſtics as had married, and would not put away their wives, were allowed, nevertheleſs, to perform all the functions of their ſacred office; and thoſe provinces which had been accuſtomed to partake of the cup, as well as of the bread in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, were ſtill indulged the privilege of receiving both. Even theſe were declared to be conceſſions for the ſake of peace, and granted only for a ſeaſon, in compliance with the weakneſs or prejudices of their countrymen [x.]

This which was called the *Interim*, he lays before the diet. May 15.

THIS ſyſtem of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of the *Interim*, becauſe it contained temporary regulations which were to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the Emperor preſented to the diet with a pompous declaration of his ſincere intention to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and order in the church, as well as of his hopes that their adopting theſe regulations would contribute greatly to bring about that deſirable event. It was read, in preſence, according to form. As ſoon as it was finiſhed the archbiſhop of Mentz, preſident of the electoral college, roſe up haſtily, and having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to reſtore peace to the church, he, in name of the diet, ſignified their approbation of the ſyſtem of doctrine which he had prepared, together with their reſolution of conforming to it in every particular. The whole aſſembly was amazed at a declaration ſo unprecedented and unconſtitutional, as well as at the Elector's preſumption in pretending to deliver the ſenſe of the diet, upon a point, which had not hitherto been the ſubject of conſultation or debate. But not one member had the courage to contradict what the Elector had ſaid; ſome being overawed by fears, others remaining ſilent through complaiſance. The Emperor held the archbiſhop's declaration to be a full conſtitutional ratification of the Interim; and prepared to enforce the obſervance of it, as a decree of the Empire [y.]

and extorts their approbation of it.

New and fruitleſs ſolicitations for the Landgrave's liberty.

DURING this diet, the wife and children of the Landgrave, warmly ſeconded by Maurice of Saxony, endeavoured to intereſt the members in behalf of that unhappy

[x] F. Paul, 270. Pallav. ii. 60. Sleid. 453, 457. Struv. Corp. 1054. Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. i. 518.

[y] Sleid. 460. F. Paul, 273. Pallav. 63.

Prince,

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Prince, who ſtill languiſhed in confinement. But Charles, who did not chooſe to be brought under the neceſſity of rejecting any requeſt that came from ſuch a reſpectable body, in order to prevent their repreſentatives, laid before the diet an account of his tranſactions with the Landgrave, together with the motives which had at firſt induced him to detain that Prince in cuſtody, and which rendered it prudent, as he alledged, to keep him ſtill under reſtraint. It was no eaſy matter to give any good reaſon for an action, incapable of being juſtified. But he thought the moſt frivolous pretexts might be produced in an aſſembly willing to be deceived, and afraid of nothing ſo much as to diſcover that it ſaw his conduct in its true colours. His account of his own conduct was accordingly admitted to be fully ſatisfactory, and after ſome feeble intreaties that he would extend his clemency to his unfortunate priſoner, the Landgrave's concerns were no more mentioned [z.]

In order to counterbalance the unfavourable impreſſion which this inflexible rigour might leave in their minds, Charles, as a proof that his gratitude was no leſs permanent and unchangeable than his reſentment, inveſted Maurice, in the electoral dignity, with all the legal formalities. The ceremony was performed, with extraordinary pomp, in an open court, ſo near the apartment in which the degraded Elector was kept a priſoner, that he could view it from his windows. Even this inſult did not ruffle his uſual tranquillity; and turning his eyes that way, he beheld a proſperous rival receiving thoſe enſigns of dignity of which he had been ſtripped, without uttering one ſentiment unbecoming the fortitude which he had preſerved amidſt all his calamities [a.]

The Interim equally diſapproved of by Proteſtants and Papiſts.

Immediately after the diſſolution of the diet, the Emperor ordered the Interim to be publiſhed in the German as well as Latin language. It met with the uſual reception of conciliating ſchemes when propoſed to men heated with diſputation; both parties declaimed againſt it with equal violence. The Proteſtants condemned it as a ſyſtem containing the groſſeſt errors of Popery, diſguiſed with ſo little art, that it could impoſe only on the moſt ignorant, or on thoſe who by wilfully ſhutting

[z] Sleid. 441.

[a] Thuan. Hiſt. lib. v. 176. Struv. Corp. 1054. Inveſtitura Mauritii a Mammerano Lucemburgo deſcripta ap. Scardium, ii. 508.

their

their eyes favoured the deception. The Papiſts inveighed againſt it, as a work, in which ſome doctrines of the church were impiouſly given up, others meanly concealed, and all of them delivered in terms calculated rather to deceive the unwary, than to inſtruct the ignorant, or to reclaim thoſe who were enemies to the truth. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it, on one hand, the general of the Dominicians with no leſs vehemence impugned it, on the other. But at Rome, as ſoon as the contents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and eccleſiaſtics roſe to the greateſt height. They exclaimed againſt the Emperor's profane encroachment on the ſacerdotal function, in preſuming, with the concurrence of an aſſembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and to regulate modes of worſhip. They compared this raſh deed to that of Uzzah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God; or to the bold attempts of thoſe Emperors, who had rendered their memory deteſtable, by endeavouring to model the Chriſtian church according to their pleaſure. They even affected to find out a reſemblance between the Emperor's conduct and that of Henry VIII. and expreſſed their fear of his imitating the example of that Monarch, by uſurping the title as well as juriſdiction belonging to the head of the church. All therefore, contended, with one voice, that as the foundations of eccleſiaſtical authority were now ſhaken, and the whole fabrick ready to be overturned by a new enemy; ſome powerful method of defence muſt be provided, and a vigorous reſiſtance muſt be made, at the beginning, before he grew too formidable to be oppoſed.

The ſentiments of the Pope with regard to it.

The Pope, whoſe judgment was improved by longer experience in great tranſactions, as well as by a more extenſive obſervation of human affairs, viewed the matter with more acute diſcernment, and derived comfort from the very circumſtance which filled them with apprehenſion. He was aſtoniſhed, that a Prince of ſuch ſuperior ſagacity as the Emperor ſhould be ſo intoxicated with a ſingle victory, as to imagine that he might give law to mankind, and decide even in thoſe matters, with regard to which they are moſt impatient of dominion. He ſaw that, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, Charles might have had it in his power to have oppreſſed the other, but that the preſumption of ſucceſs had now inſpired him with the vain thought of his

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his being able to domineer over both; he foretold that a ſyſtem, which all attacked, and none defended, could not be of long duration; and that, for this reaſon, there was no need of his interpoſing in order to haſten its fall; for as ſoon as the powerful hand which now upheld it was withdrawn, it would ſink of its own accord, and be forgotten for ever [b].

The Emperor enforces compliance with the Interim.

THE Emperor, fond of his own plan, adhered to his reſolution of carrying it into full execution. But though the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, influenced by the ſame conſiderations as formerly, ſeemed ready to yield implicit obedience to whatever he ſhould enjoin, he met not every where with a like obſequious ſubmiſſion. John Marquis of Brandenburg Anſpach, although he had taken part with great zeal in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, refuſed to renounce doctrines which he held to be ſacred, and reminding the Emperor of the repeated promiſes which he had given his Proteſtant allies of allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, he claimed, in conſequence of theſe, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other Princes, alſo, ventured to mention the ſame ſcruples, and to plead the ſame indulgence. But on this, as on other trying occaſions, the firmneſs of the Elector of Saxony was moſt diſtinguiſhed, and merited the higheſt praiſe. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the Proteſtant party, laboured, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to gain his approbation of the Interim, and by employing ſometimes promiſes of ſetting him at liberty, ſometimes threats of treating him with greater harſhneſs, attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and fears. But he was, alike, regardleſs of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the reformation, "I cannot now, ſaid he, in my old age, abandon the principles, for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cauſe on account of which I have ſuffered ſo much, and am ſtill willing to ſuffer. Better for me to enjoy, in this ſolitude, the eſteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conſcience, than to return into the world, with the imputation and guilt of apoſtacy, to diſ-

[b] Sleid. 468. F. Paul, 271, 277. Pallav. ii. 64.

grace

grace and imbitter the remainder of my days." By this magnanimous reſolution, he ſet his countrymen a pattern of conduct, ſo very different from that which the Emperor wiſhed to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him freſh marks of his indignation. The rigour of his confinement was increaſed; the number of his ſervants abridged; the Lutheran clergymen who had hitherto been permitted to attend him, were diſmiſſed; and even the books of devotion, which had been his chief conſolation during a tedious impriſonment, were taken from him [c]. The Landgrave of Heſſe, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the ſame conſtancy. His patience and fortitude were both ſo much exhauſted by the length of his confinement, that willing to purchaſe freedom at any price, he wrote to the Emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an unreſerved ſubmiſſion to his will in every other particular. But Charles who knew, that what courſe ſoever the Landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or ſubjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as ſtrictly as ever; and while he ſuffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct ſet in contraſt to that of the Elector, he derived not the ſmalleſt benefit from the mean ſtep which expoſed him to ſuch deſerved cenſure [d].

The free cities ſtruggle againſt receiving the Interim.

But it was in the Imperial cities that Charles met with the moſt violent oppoſition to the Interim. Theſe ſmall commonwealths, the citizens of which were accuſtomed to liberty and independence, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation when firſt publiſhed with remarkable eagerneſs; the bold ſpirit of innovation being peculiarly ſuited to the genius of free government. Among them, the Proteſtant teachers had made the greateſt number of proſelytes. The moſt eminent divines of the party were ſettled there as paſtors. By having the direction of the ſchools and other ſeminaries of learning, they had trained up diſciples as well inſtructed in the articles of their faith, as zealous to defend them. Such perſons were not to be guided by example, or ſwayed by authority; but having been taught to examine and to decide in matters of controverſy, thought that they were both qualified and entitled to judge for themſelves. As ſoon

[c] Sleid. 462. [d] Ibid. 462.

Book IX. 1548. as the contents of the Interim were known, they, with one voice, joined in refuſing to admit it. Straſburg, Conſtance, Bremen, Magdeburgh, together with many other towns of leſs note, preſented remonſtrances to the Emperor, ſetting forth the irregular and unconſtitutional manner in which the Interim had been enacted, and beſeeching him not to offer ſuch violence to their conſciences, as to require their aſſent to a form of doctrine and worſhip, which appeared to them repugnant to the expreſs precepts of the divine law. But Charles, having prevailed on ſo many Princes of the Empire to approve of his new model, was not much moved by the repreſentations of theſe cities, which how formidable ſoever they might have proved if they could have been formed into one body, lay ſo remote from each other, that it was eaſy to oppreſs them ſeparately, before it was poſſible for them to unite.

Compelled by violence to ſubmit.

In order to accompliſh this, the Emperor ſaw it to be requiſite that his meaſures ſhould be vigorous, and executed with ſuch rapidity as to allow no time for concerting any common plan of oppoſition. Having laid down this maxim as the rule of his proceedings, his firſt attempt was upon the city of Augſburg, which, though overawed by the preſence of the Spaniſh troops, he knew to be as much diſſatisfied with the Interim as any in the Empire. He ordered one body of theſe troops to ſeize the gates; he poſted the reſt in different quarters of the city; and

Aug. 3. aſſembling all the burgeſſes in the town, he, by his ſole abſolute authority, publiſhed a decree aboliſhing their preſent form of government, diſſolving all their corporations and fraternities, and nominating a ſmall number of perſons, in whom he veſted for the future the right of adminiſtration. Each of the perſons, thus choſen, took an oath to obſerve the Interim. An act of power, ſo unprecedented as well as arbitrary, which excluded the body of the inhabitants from any ſhare in the government of their own community, and ſubjected them to men who had no other merit than their ſervile devotion to the Emperor's will, gave general diſguſt; but as they durſt not venture upon reſiſtance, they were obliged to ſubmit in ſilence [e]. From Augſburg, in which he left a garriſon, he proceeded to Ulm, and new modelling its government with the ſame violent hand, he ſeized ſuch of their

[e] Sleid. 469.

paſtors

paſtors as refuſed to ſubſcribe the Interim, committed them to priſon, and at his departure carried them along with him in chains [f]. By this ſeverity, he not only ſecured the reception of the Interim in two of the moſt powerful cities, but gave warning to the reſt what ſuch as continued refractory had to expect. The effect of the example was as great as he could have wiſhed, and many towns, in order to ſave themſelves from the like vengeance, found it neceſſary to comply with what he enjoined. This obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the ſentiments of the Germans, and extended no farther than to make them conform ſo far to the letter of the law, as was barely ſufficient to ſcreen them from puniſhment. Their preachers accompanied thoſe ceremonies, the obſervation of which the Interim preſcribed, with ſuch an explication of their tendency, as ſerved rather to confirm than to remove the ſcruples of their hearers with regard to them. The people, many of whom had grown up to mature years ſince the eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion, and had been accuſtomed to no other form of publick worſhip, beheld the pompous pageantry of the popiſh ſervice with contempt or horror; and in moſt places the Romiſh eccleſiaſticks who returned to take poſſeſſion of their churches could ſcarce be protected from inſult, or their miniſtrations from interruption. Thus, notwithſtanding the apparent compliance of ſomany cities, the inhabitants being accuſtomed to freedom, ſubmitted with reluctance to the power which now oppreſſed them. Their underſtanding as well as inclination revolted againſt the doctrines and rites impoſed on them; and though, for the preſent, they concealed their indignation and reſentment, it was evident that theſe paſſions could not always be kept under reſtraint, but would break out at laſt in effects proportional to their violence [g].

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CHARLES, meanwhile, highly pleaſed with having bended the ſtubborn ſpirit of the Germans to ſuch general ſubmiſſion, departed for the Low-Countries, fully determined to compel the cities, which ſtill ſtood out, to receive the Interim. He carried his two priſoners, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Heſſe, along with him, either becauſe he durſt not leave them behind him in Germany, or becauſe he wiſhed to give his country-

The Pope diſmiſſes the Council aſſembled at Bologna.

[f] Sleid. 472. [g] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 218. Sleid. 491.

Book IX.

men the Flemings this illuſtrious proof of the ſucceſs of his arms, and the extent of his power. Before Charles arrived at Bruſſels he was informed that the Pope's legates at Bologna had diſmiſſed the council by an indefinite prorogation, and that the prelates aſſembled there had returned to their reſpective countries. Neceſſity had driven the Pope into this meaſure. By the ſeceſſion of thoſe who had voted againſt the tranſlation, together with the departure of others, who grew weary of continuing in a place where they were not ſuffered to proceed to buſineſs, ſo few and ſuch inconſiderable members remained, that the pompous appellation of a General Council could not, with decency, be beſtowed any longer upon them. Paul had no choice but to diſſolve an aſſembly which was become the object of contempt, and exhibited to all Chriſtendom a moſt glaring proof of the impotence of the Romiſh ſee. But unavoidable as the meaſure was, it lay open to be unfavourably interpreted, and had the appearance of withdrawing the remedy at the very time when thoſe for whoſe recovery it was provided, were prevailed on to acknowledge its virtue, and to make trial of its effect. Charles did not fail to put this conſtruction on his conduct; and by an artful compariſon of his own efforts to ſuppreſs hereſy, with Paul's ſcandalous inattention to a point ſo eſſential, he endeavoured to render the Pontiff odious to all zealous Catholicks. At the ſame time, he commanded the Prelates of his faction to remain at Trent, that the Council might ſtill appear to have a being, and might be ready, whenever it was thought expedient, to reſume its deliberations for the good of the church [h].

1548. Sept. 17.

The Emperor receives his ſon Philip in the Low-Countries.

THE motive of Charles's journey to the Low-Countries, beſides gratifying his favourite paſſion of travelling from one part of his dominions to another, was to receive Philip his only ſon, who was now in the twenty-firſt year of his age, and whom he had called thither, not only that he might be recognized by the States of the Netherlands as heir apparent, but in order to facilitate the execution of a vaſt ſcheme, the object of which, and the reception it met with, ſhall be hereafter explained. Philip, having left the government of Spain to Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldeſt ſon, to whom the Emperor had

[h] Pallav. p. 11, 72.

given

given the Princeſs Mary his daughter in marriage, embarked for Italy attended by a numerous retinue of Spaniſh nobles [i]. The ſquadron which eſcorted him, was commanded by Andrew Doria, who, notwithſtanding his advanced age, inſiſted on the honour of performing, in perſon, the ſame duty to the ſon, which he had often diſcharged towards the father. He landed ſafely at Genoa; from thence he went to Milan, and proceeding through Germany, arrived at the Imperial court in Bruſſels. The States of Brabant in the firſt place, and thoſe of the other provinces in their order, acknowledged his right of ſucceſſion in common form, and he took the cuſtomary oath to preſerve all their privileges inviolate [k]. In all the towns of the Low-Countries through which Philip paſſed, he was received with extraordinary pomp. Nothing that could expreſs the reſpect of the people, or contribute to his amuſement was neglected; pageants, tournaments, and public ſpectacles of every kind were exhibited with that expenſive magnificence which commercial nations diſplay, when, on any occaſion, they depart from their uſual maxims of frugality. But amidſt theſe ſcenes of feſtivity and pleaſure Philip's natural ſeverity of temper was diſcernible. Youth itſelf could not render him agreeable, nor his being a candidate for power form him to courteſy. He maintained a haughty reſerve in his behaviour, and diſcovered ſuch manifeſt partiality towards his Spaniſh attendants, together with ſuch an avowed preference to the manners of their country, as highly diſguſted the Flemings, and gave riſe to that antipathy, which afterwards occaſioned a revolution ſo fatal to him in that part of his dominions [l].

1548. Nov. 25. 1549. April 1.

CHARLES was long detained in the Netherlands by a violent attack of the gout, which returned upon him ſo frequently, and with ſuch increaſing violence, that it had broken to a great degree the vigour of his conſtitution. He, nevertheleſs, did not intermit his endaevours to enforce the Interim. The inhabitants of Straſburg, after a long ſtruggle, found it neceſſary to give obedience; thoſe of Conſtance, who had taken arms in their own defence, were compelled by force not only to conform to the Interim, but to renounce their privileges

[i] Ochoa, Carolea, 362. [k] Haræi. annal. Brabant. 652.
[l] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 29. L'Eveſque Mem. de Card. Granvelle, i. 21.

Book IX. 1549. as a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as Archduke of Auſtria, and as his vaſſals to admit an Auſtrian governor and garriſon [m]. Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck were the only Imperial cities of note that ſtill continued refractory.

[m] Sleid. 474, 491.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK X.

WHILE Charles laboured, with ſuch unwearied induſtry, to overcome the obſtinacy of the Proteſtants, the effects of his ſteadineſs in the execution of his plan were rendered leſs conſiderable by his rupture with the Pope, which daily increaſed. The firm reſolution which the Emperor ſeemed to have taken againſt reſtoring Placentia, together with his repeated encroachments on the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, both by the regulations contained in the Interim, and by his attempt to reaſſemble a council at Trent, exaſperated Paul to the utmoſt, who with the weakneſs incident to old age grew more attached to his family, and more jealous of his authority, as he advanced in years. Puſhed on by theſe paſſions, he made new efforts to draw the French King into an alliance againſt the Emperor [a]. But finding that Monarch, notwithſtanding his hereditary enmity to Charles, and dread of his growing power, as unwilling as formerly to involve himſelf in immediate hoſtilities, he was obliged

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[a] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 230.

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to contract his views, and to think of preventing future encroachments, since it was not in his power to inflict vengeance on account of those which were past. For this purpose, he determined to recall his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be re-annexed to the holy see, to indemnify Octavio by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state. By this expedient, he hoped to gain two points of no small consequence; the security of Parma, first of all, as the Emperor would be cautious of invading the patrimony of the church, though he might seize without scruple a town belonging to the house of Farnese; and in the next place, some chance of recovering Placentia, at his solicitations to that effect might decently be urged with greater importunity, and would infallibly be attended with more weight, when he was considered not as pleading the cause of his family, but as an advocate for the interest of the church. But while Paul was priding himself in this device, as a happy refinement in policy, Octavio an ambitious and high spirited young man, who could not bear with patience to be spoiled of one half of his territories by the repaciousness of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grand-father, took measures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his interest. He set out secretly from Rome, and having first endeavoured to surprize Parma, which attempt was frustrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the Pope had intrusted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the Emperor of renouncing all connection with the Pope, and depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the Pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almost to madness, a mind peevish with old age; and there was no degree of severity to which Paul might not have proceeded against a grandson whom he reproached as an unnatural apostate. But happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harsh resolutions which he had taken with respect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the sixteenth year of his administration, and the eighty second of his age *.

As

* Among many instances of the credulity or weakness of historians in attributing the death of illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, this is one. Almost all the historians of the sixteenth century affirm that the death of Paul III. was occasioned by the violent passions

As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourſe of Cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their meaſures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French factions ſtrove, with emulation, to promote one of their own number, and had, by turns, the proſpect of ſucceſs. But as Paul during a long Pontificate had raiſed many to the purple, and thoſe chiefly

ſions which the behaviour of his grandſon excited; that being informed while he was airing himſelf in one of his gardens near Rome, of Octavio's attempt on Parma, as well as of his negociations with the Emperor by means of Gonzaga, he fainted away, continued ſome hours in a ſwoon, then fevered, and died within three days. This is the account given of it by Thuanus, lib. vi. 211. Adriani Iſtor. di ſuoi tempi, lib. vii. 480. and by Father Paul, 280. Even Cardinal Pallavicini, better informed than any writer with regard to the events which happened in the papal court, and when not warped by prejudice or ſyſtem, more accurate in relating them, agrees with their narrative in its chief circumſtances. Pallav. b. ii. 74. Paruta, who wrote his hiſtory by command of the ſenate of Venice, relates it in the ſame manner. Hiſtories Venez. vol. iv. 212. But there was no occaſion to ſearch for any extraordinary cauſe to account for the death of an old man of eighty two. There remains an authentick account of this event, in which we find none of theſe marvellous circumſtances of which the hiſtorians are ſo fond. The cardinal of Ferrara, who was entruſted with the affairs of France at the Court of Rome, and M. D' Urfé, Henry's ambaſſador in ordinary there, wrote an account to that Monarch of the affair of Parma, and of the Pope's death. By theſe it appears, that Octavio's attempt to ſurprize Parma was made on the twentieth of October; that next day in the evening, and not while he was airing himſelf in the gardens of Monte-Cavallo, the Pope received intelligence of what he had done; that he was ſeized with ſuch a tranſport of paſſion, and cried ſo bitterly that his voice was heard in ſeveral apartments of the palace; that next day, however, he was ſo well as to give an audience to the Cardinal of Ferrara, and to go through buſineſs of different kinds; that Octavio wrote a letter to the Pope, not to Cardinal Farneſe his brother, intimating his reſolution of throwing himſelf into the arms of the Emperor; that the Pope received this on the twenty-firſt without any new ſymptoms of emotion, and returned an anſwer to it; that on the twenty-ſecond of October, the day on which the Cardinal of Ferrara's letter is dated, the Pope was in his uſual ſtate of health. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 247. By a letter of M. D'Urfé, Nov. 5. it appears that the Pope was in ſuch good health, that on the third of that month he had celebrated the anniverſary of his coronation with the uſual ſolemnities. Ibidem, 251. By another letter from the ſame perſon, we learn that on the ſixth of November a catarrh or defluxion fell down on the Pope's lungs, with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms that his life was immediately deſpaired of. Ibid. 252. And by a third letter, we are informed that he died November the tenth. In none of theſe letters is his death imputed to any extraordinary cauſe. It appears that more than twenty days elapſed between Octavio's attempt on Parma and the death of his grandfather, and that the diſeaſe was the natural effect of old age, not one of thoſe occaſioned by violence of paſſion.

perſons

Book X.

1550. February 7. The election of Julius III.

perſons of eminent abilities as well as zealouſly devoted to his family, Cardinal Farneſe had the command of a powerful and united ſquadron, by whoſe addreſs and firmneſs he exalted to the Papal throne the Cardinal de Monte, whom Paul had employed as his principal legate in the council of Trent, and truſted with his moſt ſecret intentions. He aſſumed the name of Julius III. and in order to expreſs his gratitude towards his benefactor, the firſt act of his adminiſtration was to put Octavio Farneſe in poſſeſſion of Parma. When he was told of the injury which he did the Holy ſee by alienating a territory of ſuch value, he briſkly replied, "that he would rather be a poor Pope, with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one, with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon him, and the promiſes which he had made [b]." But all the luſtre of this candour or generoſity he quickly effaced by an action moſt ſhockingly indecent. According to an ancient and eſtabliſhed practice, every Pope upon his election claims the privilege of beſtowing, on whom he pleaſes, the Cardinal's hat which falls to be diſpoſed of by his being veſted with the triple crown. Julius, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſacred college, conferred this mark of diſtinction, together with ample eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the right of bearing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of ſixteen, born of obſcure parents, and known by the name of the Ape, from his having been intruſted with the care of an animal of that ſpecies, in the Cardinal di Monte's family. Such a proſtitution of the higheſt dignity in the church would have given offence, even in thoſe dark periods, when the credulous ſuperſtition of the people emboldened eccleſiaſtics to venture on the moſt flagrant violations of decorum. But in an enlightened age, when by the progreſs of knowledge and philoſophy the obligations of duty and decency were better underſtood, when a blind veneration for the Pontifical character was every where abated, and one half of Chriſtendom in open rebellion againſt the Papal See, this action was viewed with horror. Rome was immediately filled with libels and paſquinades, which imputed the Pope's extravagant regard for ſuch an unworthy object to the moſt criminal paſſions. The Proteſtants exclaimed againſt the abſurdities of ſuppoſing that the infallible ſpirit of divine

His character and conduct.

[b] Mem. de Ribier.

truth

truth could dwell in a breaſt ſo impure, and called more loudly, than ever, and with greater appearance of juſtice, for the immediate and thorough Reformation of a church, the Head of which was a diſgrace to the Chriſtian name [c]. The reſt of the Pope's conduct was of a piece with this firſt ſpecimen of his diſpoſitions. Having now reached the ſummit of eccleſiaſtical ambition, he ſeemed eager to indemnify himſelf, by an unreſtrained indulgence of his deſires, for the ſelf-denial or diſſimulation which he had thought it prudent to practiſe while in a ſubordinate ſtation. He became careleſs, to ſo great a degree, of all ſerious buſineſs, that he could ſeldom be brought to attend to it, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity; and giving up himſelf to amuſements and diſſipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of Leo, rather than the ſevere virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was neceſſary to diſplay, in contending with a ſect which derived great credit from the rigid and auſtere manners of its teachers [d].

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His views and proceedings with reſpect to the general council.

The Pope, how ready ſoever to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farneſe, diſcovered no inclination to obſerve the oath, which each Cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice ſhould fall on him, he would immediately call the council to re-aſſume its deliberations. Julius knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine ſuch a body of men within the narrow limits which it was the intereſt of the church of Rome to preſcribe; and how eaſily the zeal of ſome members, the raſhneſs of others, or the ſuggeſtions of the Princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable aſſembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous deciſions. He wiſhed, for theſe reaſons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous anſwer to the firſt propoſals, which were made to him by the Emperor, with regard to that matter. But as Charles, either from his natural obſtinacy in adhering to the meaſures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accompliſhing what was held to be almoſt impoſſible, perſiſted in his reſolution of forcing the Proteſtants to return into the boſom of the church: As he had perſuaded himſelf that the authoritative deciſions of the council might be employed with efficacy in combating their pre-

[c] Sleid. 492. F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 76. Thuan. lib. vi. p. 215.
[d] F. Paul, ibid.

judices;

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judices; and in conſequence of that perſuaſion, ſolicited earneſtly that a new bull of convocation might be iſſued, the Pope could not, with decency, reject that requeſt. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endeavoured to take the merit of having procured the meeting of an aſſembly, which was the object of ſuch general deſire and expectation. A congregation of Cardinals, to whom he referred the conſideration of what was neceſſary for reſtoring peace to the church, recommended, by his direction, the ſpeedy convocation of a council, as the moſt effectual expedient for that purpoſe; and as the new hereſies raged with the greateſt violence in Germany, they propoſed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inſpection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater diſcernment and certainty of ſucceſs. The Pope warmly approved this advice, which he himſelf had dictated, and ſent nuncios to the Imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions [e].

A diet at Augſburg to enforce the Interim.

June 25.

MEANWHILE, the Emperor had ſummoned a new diet to meet at Augſburg, in order to enforce the obſervation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the Empire, acknowledging the juriſdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promiſe of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in perſon, together with his ſon the Prince of Spain. Few of the Electors were preſent, but all ſent deputies in their name. Charles notwithſtanding the deſpotic authority with which he had given law in the Empire during two years, knew that the ſpirit of independence among the Germans was not intirely ſubdued, and for that reaſon took care to over-awe the diet by a conſiderable body of Spaniſh troops which eſcorted him thither. The firſt point, ſubmitted to the conſideration of the diet, was the neceſſity of holding a council. All the Popiſh members agreed, without difficulty, that the meeting of that aſſembly ſhould be renewed at Trent, and promiſed an implicit acquieſcence in its decrees. The Proteſtants, intimidated and diſunited, muſt have followed their example, and the reſolution of the diet have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to diſcloſe new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had ſo long aſſumed.

[e] F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 77.

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By an artful diſſimulation of his own ſentiments; by addreſs in paying court to the Emperor; and by the ſeeming zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious ſchemes, Maurice had raiſed himſelf to the Electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, was become the moſt powerful Prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the Emperor had afforded him many opportunities of obſerving narrowly the dangerous tendency of his ſchemes. He ſaw the yoke that was preparing for his country; and from the rapid as well as formidable progreſs of the Imperial power, was convinced that but a few ſteps more remained to be taken, in order to render Charles as abſolute a Monarch in Germany, as he had become in Spain. The more eminent the condition was to which he himſelf had been exalted, the more ſolicitous did he naturally become to maintain all its rights and privileges, and the more did he dread the thoughts of deſcending from the rank of a Prince almoſt independent, to that of a vaſſal ſubject to the will of a maſter. At the ſame time, he perceived that Charles, inſtead of allowing liberty of conſcience, the promiſe of which had allured ſeveral Proteſtant Princes to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde, was bent on exacting a rigid conformity to the doctrines and rites of the Romiſh church. As he, notwithſtanding all the compliances which he had made from motives of intereſt, or an exceſs of confidence in the Emperor, was ſincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, he determined not to be a tame ſpectator of the overthrow of a ſyſtem which he believed to be founded in truth.

Maurice begins to form deſigns againſt the Emperor.

This reſolution, flowing from the love of liberty, or zeal for religion, was ſtrengthened by political and intereſted conſiderations. In that elevated ſtation, in which Maurice was now placed, new and more extenſive proſpects opened to his view. His rank and power entitled him to be the head of the Proteſtants in the Empire. His predeceſſor, the degraded Elector, with inferior abilities, and territories leſs conſiderable, had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the councils of the party; and Maurice neither wanted diſcernment to ſee the advantage of this pre-eminence, nor ambition to aim at attaining it. But he found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered the attempt no leſs difficult, than the object of

The political motives which influenced him.

it

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it was important. On the one hand, the connection which he had formed with the Emperor was ſo intimate, that he could ſcarce hope to take any ſtep which tended to diſſolve it, without alarming his jealouſy, and drawing on himſelf the whole weight of that power, which had cruſhed the greateſt confederacy ever formed in Germany. On the other hand, the calamities which he had brought on the Proteſtant party were ſo recent and ſo great, that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to regain their confidence, or to rally and re-animate a body of men, after himſelf had been the chief inſtrument in breaking their union and vigour. Theſe conſiderations were ſufficient to have diſcouraged any perſon of a ſpirit leſs adventurous than Maurice's. But to him the grandeur and vaſtneſs of the enterprizes were allurements; and he boldly reſolved on meaſures, of which a genius of an inferior order could have conceived no idea, or would have trembled at the thoughts of the danger which attended the execution of them.

The paſſions which co-operated with theſe motives.

His paſſions concurred with his intereſt in confirming this reſolution; and the reſentment excited by an injury, which he ſuddenly felt, added new force to the motives for oppoſing the Emperor, which ſound policy ſuggeſted. Maurice, by his authority, had prevailed on the Landgrave of Heſſe to put his perſon in the Emperor's power, and had obtained a promiſe from the Imperial miniſters that he ſhould not be detained a priſoner. This had been violated in the manner already related. The unhappy Landgrave exclaimed as loudly againſt his ſon-in-law as againſt Charles. The Princes of Heſſe required him inceſſantly to fulfil his engagements to their father, who had loſt his liberty by truſting to him; and all Germany ſuſpected him of having betrayed, to an implacable enemy, the friend whom he was moſt bound to protect. Rouſed by theſe ſolicitations and reproaches, as well as prompted by duty and affection to his father-in-law, Maurice had employed not only entreaties but remonſtrances in order to procure his releaſe. All theſe Charles had diſregarded; and the ſhame of having been firſt deceived and then ſlighted by a Prince whom he had ſerved with zeal and ſucceſs, which merited a very different return, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on Maurice, that he waited with impatience for an opportunity of being revenged.

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The caution and addreſs with which he carries on his ſchemes.

THE utmoſt caution as well as delicacy were requiſite in taking every ſtep towards this end; as he had to guard, on the one hand, againſt giving a premature alarm to the Emperor; while, on the other, ſomething conſiderable and explicit was neceſſary to be done, in order to regain the confidence of the Proteſtant party. Maurice had accordingly applied all his powers of addreſs and diſſimulation to attain both theſe points. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the ſubmiſſion which he required to the Interim, he did not heſitate one moment whether he ſhould eſtabliſh that form of doctrine and worſhip in his dominions. But being ſenſible how odious it was to his ſubjects, inſtead of violently impoſing it on them by the mere terror of authority, as had been done in other parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render their obedience a voluntary deed of their own. For this purpoſe, he had aſſembled the clergy of his country at Leipſick, and had laid the Interim before them, together with the reaſons which made it neceſſary to conform to it. He had gained ſome of them by promiſes, others he had wrought upon by threats, and all were intimidated by the rigour with which obedience to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring provinces. Even Melancthon, whoſe merit of every kind entitled him to the firſt place among the Proteſtant divines, being now deprived of the manly counſels of Luther, which were wont to inſpire him with fortitude, and to preſerve him ſteady amidſt the ſtorms and dangers that threatened the church, was ſeduced into unwarrantable conceſſions, by the timidity of his temper, his fond deſire of peace, and his exceſſive complaiſance towards perſons of high rank. By his arguments and authority, no leſs than by Maurice's arts, the aſſembly was prevailed on to declare, that in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of a lawful ſuperior. Founding upon this maxim, no leſs uncontrovertible in theory, than dangerous when carried into practice, eſpecially in religious matters, they proceeded to claſs, among the number of things indifferent, ſeveral doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as groſs and pernicious errors in the Romiſh creed, as well as many of thoſe rites which diſtinguiſhed the Reformed from the Popiſh worſhip, and by conſequence, they exhorted their people to comply

He enforces the Interim in Saxony.

with

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with the Emperor's injunctions concerning theſe particulars [f.]

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Makes profeſſions of zeal for the Proteſtant religion.

By this dextrous conduct, the introduction of the Interim excited none of thoſe violent convulſions in Saxony, which it occaſioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons ſubmitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed againſt Melanchon and his aſſociates, as falſe brethren, who were either ſo wicked as to apoſtatize from the truth altogether; or ſo artful as to betray it by ſubtle diſtinctions; or ſo feeble-ſpirited as to give it up from puſillanimity and criminal complaiſance to a Prince, capable of ſacrificing to his political intereſt, that which he himſelf regarded as moſt ſacred. Maurice, being conſcious what a colour of probability his paſt conduct gave to theſe accuſations, as well as afraid of loſing intirely the confidence of the Proteſtants, iſſued a declaration containing profeſſions of his zealous attachment to the Reformed religion, and of his reſolution to guard againſt all the errors or encroachments of the Papal ſee [g.]

At the ſame time courts the Emperor.

Having gone ſo far in order to remove the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants, he found it neceſſary to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a declaration might make on the Emperor. For that purpoſe, he not only renewed his profeſſions of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but as the city of Magdeburg ſtill perſiſted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and inſtantly ſet about levying the troops to be employed in that ſervice. This damped all the hopes which the Proteſtants begun to conceive of Maurice, in conſequence of his declaration, and left them more than ever at a loſs to gueſs at his real intentions. Their former ſuſpicion and diſtruſt of him revived, and the divines of Magdeburg filled Germany with writings, in which they repreſented him as the moſt formidable enemy of the Proteſtant religion, who treacherouſly aſſumed an appearance of zeal for its intereſt, that he might more effectually execute his ſchemes for its deſtruction.

Proteſts againſt the mode of proceeding in the council.

This charge, ſupported by the evidence of recent facts, as well as by his preſent dubious conduct, gained ſuch univerſal credit, that Maurice was obliged to take a vigorous ſtep in his own vindication. As ſoon as the

[f] Sleid. 481, 485. J. Laur. Moſhemii Inſtitutionum Hiſt. Eccleſiaſticæ, lib. iv. Helmſt. 1755. 4to. p. 748.

[g] Sleid. 485.

re-aſſembling

re-aſſembling of the council at Trent was propoſed in the diet, his ambaſſadors proteſted that their maſter would not acknowledge its authority, unleſs all the points which had been already decided there were reviewed, and conſidered as entire; unleſs the Proteſtant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a deciſive voice in the council; and unleſs the Pope renounced his pretenſions to preſide in the council, engaged to ſubmit to its decrees, and abſolved the biſhops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their ſentiments with greater freedom. Theſe demands, which were higher than any that the Reformers had ventured to make, even when the zeal of their party was warmeſt, or their affairs moſt proſperous, counterbalanced, in ſome degree, the effect of Maurice's preparations againſt Magdeburg, and kept the Proteſtants in ſuſpenſe with regard to his deſigns. At the ſame time, he had addreſs enough to repreſent this part of his conduct in ſuch a light to the Emperor, that it gave him no offence, and occaſioned no interruption of the ſtrict confidence which ſubſiſted between them. What the pretexts were which he employed in order to give ſuch a bold declaration an innocent appearance, the contemporary hiſtorians have not explained; that they impoſed upon Charles is certain, for he ſtill continued to proſecute his plan as well concerning the Interim as the council, with the ſame ardour; and to place the ſame confidence in Maurice, with regard to the execution of both.

The diet reſolve to make war on the city of Magdeburg.

THE Pope's reſolution concerning the council not being yet known at Augſburgh, the chief buſineſs of the diet was to enforce the obſervation of the Interim. As the ſenate of Magdeburg, notwithſtanding various endeavours to frighten or to ſooth them into compliance, not only perſevered obſtinately in their oppoſition to the Interim, but began to ſtrengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence, Charles required of the diet that they would aſſiſt him in quelling this audacious rebellion againſt a decree of the Empire. Had the members of the diet been left to act agreeably to their own inclination, this demand would have been rejected without heſitation. All the Germans who favoured, in any degree, the new opinions in religion, and many who were influenced by no other conſideration than jealouſy of the Emperor's growing power, regarded this effort of the citizens of Magdeburg, as a noble ſtand for

Book X. 1550. the liberties of their country. Even ſuch as had not reſolution to exert the ſame ſpirit, admired the gallantry of their enterprize, and wiſhed it ſucceſs. But the preſence of the Spaniſh troops, together with the dread of the Emperor's diſpleaſure, over-awed thoſe who were preſent in the diet to ſuch a degree, that without venturing to utter their own ſentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the Emperor was pleaſed to preſcribe. The rigorous decrees, which Charles had iſſued by his own authority againſt the Magdeburgers, were confirmed; a reſolution was taken to raiſe troops in order to beſiege the city in form; and perſons were named to fix the contingent in men or money to be furniſhed by each ſtate. At the ſame time, the diet petitioned that Maurice might be entruſted with the command of that army, to which Charles gave his conſent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wiſdom of the choice which they had made [h.] As Maurice conducted all his ſchemes with profound and impenetrable ſecrecy, it is probable that he took no ſtep avowedly in order to obtain this charge. The recommendation of his countrymen was either purely accidental, or flowed from the opinion generally entertained of his great abilities; and neither the diet had any foreſight, nor the Emperor any dread of the conſequences which followed upon this nomination. Maurice accepted without heſitation the truſt committed to him, inſtantly diſcerning the important advantages which he might derive from it.

Appoint Maurice general.

The council ſummoned to re-aſſemble at Trent. December.

MEANWHILE, Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, obſerved all thoſe tedious forms which the court of Rome can employ, with ſo much dexterity, to retard any diſagreeable meaſure. At laſt it was publiſhed, and the council ſummoned to meet at Trent on the firſt day of the enſuing month of May. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or diſputed the authority and juriſdiction which the Papal ſee claims with reſpect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to aſſert, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his own right, not only to call and preſide in that aſſembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he ſoften theſe expreſſions, in any degree, notwithſtanding the repeated ſolicitations of the Emperor, who foreſaw what

[h] Sleid. 503, 512.

offence

offence they would give, and what conſtruction might be put on them. They were cenſured, accordingly, with great ſeverity, by ſeveral members of the diet; but whatever diſguſt or ſuſpicion they excited, ſuch abſolute direction of all their deliberations had the Emperor acquired, that he procured a receſs, in which the authority of the council was recognized, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church; all the Princes and ſtates of the Empire, ſuch as had made innovations in religion, as well as thoſe who adhered to the ſyſtem of their forefathers, were required to ſend their repreſentatives to the council; the Emperor engaged to grant a ſafe conduct to ſuch as demanded it, and to ſecure them an impartial hearing in the council; he promiſed to fix his reſidence in ſome city of the Empire, in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his preſence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeable to ſcripture and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a deſirable iſſue. In this receſs, the obſervation of the Interim was more ſtrictly enjoined than ever, and the Emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refuſed to conform to it, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience [i]. Book. X. 1551. Feb. 13.

DURING the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made in order to procure liberty to the Landgrave. That Prince, no-wiſe reconciled by time to his ſituation, grew every day more impatient of reſtraint. Having often applied to Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, who took every occaſion of ſoliciting the Emperor in his behalf, though without any effect, he now commanded his ſons to ſummon them, with legal formality, to perform what was contained in the bond they had granted him, by ſurrendering themſelves to be treated with the ſame rigour as the Emperor had uſed him. This furniſhed them with a freſh pretext for renewing their application to the Emperor, together with an additional argument to enforce it. Charles firmly reſolved not to grant their requeſt; though at the ſame time being extremely deſirous to get rid of their inceſſant importunity, he endeavoured to prevail on the Landgrave to give up Another fruitleſs attempt to procure the Landgrave liberty.

[i] Sleid. 512. Thuan. lib. vi. 233. Goldaſti Conſtit. Imperiales, vol. ii. 340.

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the obligation which he had received from the two Electors. But that Prince refuſing to part with a ſecurity which he deemed eſſential to his ſafety, the Emperor boldly cut the knot which he could not untie; and by a publick deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg had granted, abſolving them from all their engagements to the Landgrave. No pretenſion to a power ſo pernicious to ſociety as that of abrogating at pleaſure the moſt ſacred laws of honour, and moſt formal obligations of public faith, had hitherto been formed by any but the Roman Pontiffs, who, in conſequence of their claim of infallibility, arrogate the right of diſpenſing with precepts and duties of every kind. All Germany was filled with aſtoniſhment, when Charles aſſumed the ſame prerogative. The ſtate of ſubjection, to which the Empire was reduced, appeared to be more rigorous as well as intolerable than that of the moſt wretched and enſlaved nations, if the Emperor by an arbitrary decree might cancel thoſe ſolemn contracts, which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in ſocial union. The Landgrave himſelf now gave up all hopes of recovering his liberty by the Emperor's conſent, and endeavoured to procure it by his own addreſs. But the plan which he had formed to deceive his guards being diſcovered, ſuch of his attendants as he had gained to favour his eſcape were put to death, and he was confined in the citadel of Mechlin more cloſely than ever [k].

Charles's plan of procuring the Imperial crown for his ſon Philip.

ANOTHER tranſaction was carried on during this diet, with reſpect to an affair more nearly intereſting to the Emperor, and which occaſioned likewiſe a general alarm among the Princes of the Empire. Charles, though formed with talents which fitted him for conceiving and conducting great deſigns, was not capable, as has been obſerved, of bearing extraordinary ſucceſs. Its operation on his mind was ſo violent and intoxicating, that it elevated him beyond what was moderate or attainable, and turned his whole attention to the purſuit of vaſt but chimerical objects. Such had been the effect of his victory over the confederates of Smalkalde. He did not long reſt ſatisfied with the ſubſtantial and certain advantages which were the reſult of that event, but deſpiſing theſe, as poor or inconſiderable fruits of ſuch great ſucceſs, he

[k] Sleid. 504. Thuan. l. vi. 234, 335.

had

had aimed at bringing all Germany to an uniformity in religion, and at rendering the Imperial power deſpotic. Theſe were objects extremely ſplendid, it muſt be acknowledged, and alluring to an ambitious mind; the purſuit of them, however, was attended with manifeſt danger, and the attainment of them very precarious. But the ſteps which he had already taken towards them being accompanied with ſuch ſucceſs, his imagination, warmed with contemplating this vaſt deſign, overlooked or deſpiſed all difficulties. As he conceived the execution of his plan to be certain, he began to be ſolicitous how he might render the poſſeſſion of ſuch an important acquiſition perpetual in his family, by tranſmitting the German Empire, as well as the kingdoms of Spain, and his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries, to his ſon. Having long revolved this flattering idea in his mind, without communicating it, even to thoſe miniſters whom he moſt truſted, he had called Philip out of Spain, in hopes that his preſence would facilitate the carrying forward the ſcheme.

The obſtacles that ſtood in its way.

GREAT obſtacles, however, and ſuch as would have deterred any ambition leſs accuſtomed to overcome difficulties, were to be ſurmounted. He had in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty imprudently aſſiſted in procuring his brother Ferdinand the dignity of King of the Romans, and there was no probability that this Prince, who was ſtill in the prime of life, and had a ſon grown up to the years of manhood, would relinquiſh, in favour of his nephew, the near proſpect of the Imperial throne, which Charles's infirmities and declining ſtate of health opened to him. This did not deter the Emperor from venturing to make the propoſition; and when Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his profound reverence for his brother, and obſequious ſubmiſſion to his will in other inſtances, rejected it in a peremptory tone, he was not diſcouraged by one repulſe. He renewed his applications to him by his ſiſter, Mary Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and who, by her great abilities, tempered with extreme gentleneſs of diſpoſition, had acquired an extraordinary influence over both the brothers. She entered warmly into a meaſure, which tended ſo manifeſtly to aggrandize the houſe of Auſtria; and flattering herſelf that ſhe could tempt Ferdinand to renounce the reverſionary poſſeſſion of the Imperial dignity for an immediate eſtabliſhment,

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ſhe aſſured him that the Emperor, by way of compenſation for his giving up his chance of ſucceſſion, would inſtantly beſtow upon him territories of very conſiderable value, and pointed out in particular thoſe of the Duke of Wurtemberg, which might be confiſcated upon different pretexts. But Ferdinand was more ambitious than to be perſuaded, by her addreſs or intreaties, to approve of a plan, which would have degraded him from the higheſt rank among the Monarchs of Europe to that of a ſubordinate and dependent Prince. He was at the ſame time, more attached to his children than to fruſtrate, by a raſh conceſſion, all the high hopes in proſpect of which they had been educated.

His endeavours to ſurmount theſe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immoveable firmneſs which Ferdinand diſcovered, the Emperor did not abandon his ſcheme. He flattered himſelf that he might attain the object in view by another channel, and that it was not impoſſible to prevail on the Electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaſt to elect Philip a ſecond King of the Romans, ſubſtituting him as next in ſucceſſion to his uncle. With this view he took Philip along with him to the diet, that the Germans might have an opportunity to obſerve and become acquainted with the Prince, in behalf of whom he courted their intereſt; and he himſelf employed all the arts of addreſs or inſinuation to gain the Electors, and to prepare them for lending a favourable ear to the propoſal. But no ſooner did he venture upon mentioning it to them, than they, at once, ſaw and trembled at the conſequences with which it would be attended. They had long felt all the inconveniences of having placed at the head of the Empire, a Prince whoſe power and dominions were ſo extenſive; if they ſhould now repeat the folly, and continue the Imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the ſame family, they foreſaw that they would give the ſon an opportunity of carrying on that ſyſtem of oppreſſion, which the father had begun; and would put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German conſtitution.

Philip's character diſagreeable to the Germans.

THE character of the Prince, in whoſe favour this extraordinary propoſition was made, rendered it ſtill leſs agreeable. Philip, though poſſeſſed with an inſatiable deſire of power, was a ſtranger to all the arts of conciliating good-will. Haughty, reſerved and ſevere, he, inſtead of gaining new friends, diſguſted the ancient and moſt

moſt devoted partizans of the Auſtrian intereſt. He ſcorned to take the trouble of acquiring the language of the country, to the government of which he aſpired; nor would he condeſcend to pay the Germans the compliment of accommodating himſelf, during his reſidence among them, to their manners and cuſtoms. He allowed the Electors and moſt illuſtrious Princes in Germany to remain in his preſence uncovered, affecting a ſtately and diſtant demeanour, which the greateſt of the German Emperors, and even Charles himſelf, amidſt the pride of power and victory, had never aſſumed [l]. On the other hand, Ferdinand, from the time of his arrival in Germany, had ſtudied to render himſelf acceptable to the people, by a conformity to their manners, which ſeemed to flow from choice; and his ſon Maximilian, who was born in Germany, poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, ſuch amiable qualities, as rendered him the darling of his countrymen, and induced them to look forward to his election as a moſt deſirable event. Their eſteem and affection for him fortified the reſolution which ſound policy had ſuggeſted; and determined the Germans to prefer the popular virtues of Ferdinand and his ſon, to the ſtubborn auſterity of Philip, which intereſt could not ſoften, nor ambition teach him to diſguiſe. All the Electors, the eccleſiaſtical as well as ſecular, concurred in expreſſing ſuch ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure, that Charles, notwithſtanding the reluctance with which he gave up any point, was obliged to drop the ſcheme as impracticable. By his unſeaſonable perſeverance in puſhing it, he not only filled the Germans with new jealouſy of his ambitious deſigns, but laid the foundation of rivalſhip and diſcord in the Auſtrian family, and forced his brother Ferdinand, in ſelf-defence, to court the electors, particularly Maurice of Saxony, and to form ſuch connections with them, as cut off all proſpect of renewing the propoſal with ſucceſs. Philip, ſoured by his diſappointment, was ſent back to Spain, to be called thence when any new ſcheme of ambition ſhould render his preſence neceſſary [m].

Charles obliged to relinquiſh this ſcheme.

[l] Frediman Andreæ Zulich Diſſertatio politico — Hiſtorica de Nævis politicis Caroli V. Lipſ. 1706. 4to. p. 21.

[m] Sleid. 505. Thuan. 180, 238. Memoir. de Ribier, ii. 219, 281, 314. Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 507, 520.

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HAVING relinquiſhed this plan of domeſtic ambition which had long occupied and engroſſed him, Charles imagined that he would now have leiſure to turn all his attention towards his grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing uniformity of religion in the Empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquieſce in the deciſions of the council of Trent. But ſuch was the extent of his dominions, the variety of connections in which this entangled him, and the multiplicity of events to which theſe gave riſe, as ſeldom allowed him to apply his whole force to any one object. The machine which he had to conduct was ſo great and complicated, that an unforeſeen irregularity or obſtruction in one of the inferior wheels, often diſconcerted the motion of the whole, and diſappointed him of the moſt conſiderable effects which he expected. Such an unlooked-for occurrence happened at this juncture, and created new obſtacles to the execution of his ſchemes with regard to religion. Julius III. though he had confirmed Octavio Farneſe in the poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Parma, during the firſt effuſions of joy and gratitude on his promotion to the Papal throne, ſoon began to repent of his own generoſity, and to be apprehenſive of conſequences which either he did not foreſee, or had diſregarded while the ſenſe of his obligations to the family of Farneſe was recent. The Emperor ſtill retained Placentia in his hand, and had not relinquiſhed his pretenſions to Parma as a fief of the Empire. Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by the part which he took in the murder of the late Duke Peter Ludovico, offered an inſult to the family of Farneſe, which he knew could never be forgiven, had for that reaſon vowed its deſtruction; and employed all the influence, which his great abilities as well as long ſervices gave him with the Emperor, in perſuading him to ſeize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his ſolicitations, and that he might gratify his own deſire of annexing Parma to the Milaneſe, liſtened to the propoſal: and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the ſlighteſt appearance of approbation, began to aſſemble troops, and to make other preparations for the execution of his ſcheme.

1551. The Pope and Emperor form a deſign to recover Parma and Placentia.

OCTAVIO, who ſaw the impending danger, found it neceſſary for his own ſafety to increaſe the garriſon of his capital, and to levy ſoldiers for defending the reſt of the country. But as the expence of ſuch an effort far exceeded his ſcanty revenues, he repreſented his ſituation to the Pope,

Octavio Farneſe courts the aſſiſtance of France.

Pope, and implored that protection and assistance which was due to him as a vassal of the church. The Imperial minister, however, had already preoccupied the Pope's ear; and by discoursing continually concerning the danger of giving offence to the Emperor, as well as the imprudence of supporting Octavio in an usurpation so detrimental to the Holy See, had totally alienated him from the family of Farnese. Octavio's remonstrance and petition met, of consequence, with a cold reception; and he, despairing of any assistance from Julius, began to look round for protection from some other quarter. Henry II. of France was the only Prince powerful enough to afford him this protection, and fortunately he was now in a situation which allowed him to undertake it. He had brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms, which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to such an issue as he desired. This he had effected partly by the vigour of his arms, partly by his dexterity in taking advantage of the political factions which raged in both kingdoms, and rendered the counsels of the Scots violent and precipitate, and the operations of the English feeble and unsteady. He had procured from the English favourable conditions of peace for his allies the Scots; he had prevailed on the nobles of Scotland not only to affiance their young Queen to his son the Dauphin, but even to send her into France that she might be educated under his eye; and had recovered Boulogne together with its dependancies which had been conquered by Henry VIII.

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His league with Henry II.

HAVING gained points of so much consequence to his crown, and disengaged himself with such honour from the burden of supporting the Scots, and maintaining a war against England, Henry was now at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy of the Emperor's power naturally suggested, He listened, accordingly, to the first overtures which Octavio Farnese made him; and embracing eagerly an opportunity of recovering footing in Italy, he instantly concluded a treaty, in which he promised to espouse his cause, and to furnish him with all the assistance which he desired. This transaction could not be long kept secret from the Pope, who foreseeing the calamities which must follow if war were rekindled so near the ecclesiastical state, immediately issued monitory letters, requiring Octavio to relinquish his

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his new alliance. Upon his refuſal to comply with the requiſition, he ſoon after pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared war againſt him as a diſobedient and rebellious vaſſal. But as he could not hope, with his own forces alone, to ſubdue Octavio while ſupported by ſuch a powerful ally as the King of France, he had recourſe to the Emperor, who being extremely ſolicitous to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to ſecond Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the Imperialiſts as the protectors of the Holy See; and hoſtilities commenced between them, while Charles and Henry themſelves ſtill affected to give out that they would adhere inviolably to the peace of Creſpy. The war of Parma was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. Many ſmall rencounters happened with alternate ſucceſs; the French ravaged part of the eccleſiaſtical territories; the Imperialiſts laid waſte the Parmeſan; and the latter after having begun to beſiege Parma in form, were obliged to abandon the enterprize with diſgrace [n].

Occaſions the renewal of hoſtilities between Charles and Henry.

Retards the meeting of the council.

But the motions, and alarm which this war, or the preparation for it, occaſioned in Italy, prevented moſt of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the firſt of May, the day appointed for re-aſſembling the council; and though the Papal legate and nuncios reſorted thither, they were obliged to adjourn to the firſt of September, hoping ſuch a number might then aſſemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time, about ſixty prelates, moſtly from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened [o]. The ſeſſion was opened with the accuſtomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to buſineſs, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and preſenting letters of credence as ambaſſador from the French King, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he proteſted in Henry's name againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the Pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline with the requiſite tranquillity; he declared that

Henry proteſts againſt the council.

[n] Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 505, 514, 524. Sleid. 513. Paruta, p. 220. Lettere del Caro ſcritte al nome del Card. Farneſe, tom. ii. p. 11, &c.

[o] F. Paul. 268.

his

his maſter did not acknowledge this to be a general oecumenick council, but muſt conſider and would treat it as a particular and partial convention [p]. The legate affected to deſpiſe this proteſt; and the prelates proceeded, notwithſtanding, to examine and decide the great points in controverſy concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, penance, and extreme unction. This meaſure of the French Monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans could not pay much regard to an aſſembly, whoſe authority the ſecond Prince in Chriſtendom had formally diſclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the deciſions of a few men, who arrogated to themſelves all the rights belonging to the repreſentatives of the church univerſal, a title to which they had ſuch poor pretenſions.

THE Emperor, nevertheleſs, was ſtraining his authority to the utmoſt, in order to eſtabliſh the reputation and juriſdiction of the council. He had prevailed on the three eccleſiaſtical Electors, the prelates of greateſt power and dignity in the church next to the Pope, to repair thither in perſon. He had obliged ſeveral German biſhops of inferior rank to go to Trent themſelves, or to ſend their proxies. He granted an Imperial ſafe conduct to the ambaſſadors nominated by the Elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other Proteſtant ſtates, to attend the council; and exhorted them to ſend their divines thither, in order to propound, explain and defend their doctrine. At the ſame time, his zeal anticipated the decrees of the council; and as if the Proteſtant doctrines had already been condemned, he took large ſteps towards exterminating them. With this intention, he called together the miniſters of Augſburg; and after interrogating them concerning ſeveral controverted points, enjoined them to teach nothing with reſpect to theſe, contrary to the tenets of the Romiſh church. Upon their declining to comply with a requiſition ſo contrary to the dictates of their conſciences, he commanded them to leave the town in three days, without revealing to any perſon the cauſe of their baniſhment; he prohibited them to preach for the future in any of the countries ſubject to the Imperial juriſdiction; and obliged them to take an oath that they would punctually obey theſe injunctions.

Violence of the Emperor's proceedings againſt the Proteſtants.

[p] Sleid. 518. Thuan. 282. F. Paul. 301.

They

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They were not the only victims to his zeal. The Proteſtant clergy, in moſt of the cities in the circle of Swabia, were ejected with the ſame violence; and in many places, ſuch magiſtrates as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their attachment to the new opinions, were diſmiſſed with the moſt abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in conſequence of the Emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the moſt bigotted of their adverſaries. The Reformed worſhip was almoſt entirely ſupreſſed throughout that extenſive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the miniſtration of prieſts, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of magiſtrates, whom they deteſted as uſurpers [q].

His endeavours to ſupport the council.

November.

THE Emperor, after this diſcovery, which was more explicit than any that he had hitherto made, of his intention to ſubvert the German conſtitution, as well as to extirpate the Proteſtant religion, ſet out for Inſpruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his reſidence in that city, as by its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Trent, and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious ſtation, whence he might inſpect the operations of the council, and obſerve the progreſs of the war in the Parmeſan, without loſing ſight of the occurrences that might happen in Germany [r].

The ſiege of Magdeburg.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the ſiege of Magdeburg was carried on with various ſucceſs. At the time when Charles proſcribed the citizens of Magdeburg, and put them under the ban of the Empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring ſtates to take arms againſt them, as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promiſes, George of Mecklenburg, a younger brother of the reigning Duke, an active and ambitious Prince, collected a conſiderable number of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunſwick in all his wild enterprizes; and though a zealous Lutheran himſelf, invaded the territories of the Magdeburgers, hoping that, by the merit of this ſervice, he might procure ſome part of their domains to be allotted to him as an eſtabliſhment, The citizens, unaccuſtomed as yet to endure patiently the calamities of

[q] Sleid. 516, 528. Thuan. 276.

[r] Sleid. 329.

war,

war, could not be reſtrained from ſallying out in order to ſave their lands from being laid waſte. They attacked the duke of Mecklenburg with more courage than conduct, and were repulſed with great ſlaughter. But as they were animated with that unconquerable ſpirit, which flows from zeal for religion co-operating with the love of civil liberty, far from being diſheartened by their misfortune, they prepared to defend themſelves with vigour. Many of the veteran ſoldiers who had ſerved in the long wars between the Emperor and King of France, crowding to their ſtandards under able and experienced officers, they acquired military ſkill by degrees, and added all the advantages of that to the efforts of undaunted courage. The duke of Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the ſevere blow which he had given the Magdeburgers, not daring to inveſt a town ſtrongly fortified, and defended by ſuch a garriſon, continued to ravage the open country.

As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to his camp, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he poſſeſſed by being at the head of ſuch a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburg with his own troops, aſſumed the ſupreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indiſputable title. With this united force he inveſted the town, and began the ſiege in form; claiming great merit with the Emperor on that account, as, from his zeal to execute the Imperial decree, he was expoſing himſelf once more to the cenſures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed in religious ſentiments. But the approaches to the town went on ſlowly; the garriſon interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in one of which the duke of Mecklenburg was taken priſoner, levelled part of their works, and cut off the ſoldiers in their advanced poſts. While the citizens of Magdeburg, animated by the diſcourſes of their paſtors, and the ſoldiers encouraged by the example of their officers, endured all the hardſhips of a ſiege without murmuring, and defended themſelves with the ſame ardour which they had at firſt diſcovered; the troops of the beſiegers acted with extreme remiſſneſs, repining at every thing they ſuffered in a ſervice which they diſliked. They broke out, more than once, into open mutiny, demanding

Maurice takes the command of the army which carried on the ſiege.

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manding the arrears of their pay, which, as the Germans contributed with great reluctance towards defraying the expences of this war, amounted to a conſiderable ſum [s]. Maurice, too, had particular motives, though ſuch as he durſt not avow at that juncture, which induced him not to puſh the ſiege with vigour, and made him chooſe rather to continue at the head of an army expoſed to all the imputations which his dilatory proceedings drew upon him, than to precipitate a conqueſt which might have brought him ſome acceſſion of reputation, but would have rendered it neceſſary to diſband his forces.

The city ſurrenders to Maurice.

At laſt, the inhabitants of the town beginning to ſuffer diſtreſs from want of proviſions, and Maurice, finding it impoſſible to protract matters any longer without filling the Emperor with ſuch ſuſpicions as might have diſconcerted all his meaſures, he concluded a treaty of capitulation with the city upon the following conditions; that the Magdeburgers ſhould humbly implore pardon of the Emperor; that they ſhould not for the future take arms, or enter into any alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria; that they ſhould ſubmit to the authority of the Imperial chamber; that they ſhould conform to the decree of the diet at Augſburg with reſpect to religion; that the new fortifications added to the town ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould pay a fine of fifty thouſand crowns, deliver up twelve pieces of ordnance to the Emperor, and ſet the Duke of Mecklenburg together with their other priſoners at liberty without ranſom. Next day their garriſon marched out, and Maurice took poſſeſſion of the town with great military pomp.

Novemb. 3.

Maurice's views at this juncture.

Before the terms of capitulation were ſettled, Maurice had held many conferences with Albert count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburg, and with count Heideck, an officer who had ſerved with great reputation in the army of the league of Smalkalde, whom the Emperor had proſcribed on account of his zeal for that cauſe, and whom Maurice had, notwithſtanding, ſecretly engaged in his ſervice, and admitted into the moſt intimate confidence. To them he communicated a ſcheme, which he had long revolved in his mind, for procuring liberty to his father-in-law the Landgrave, for vindicating the privileges of the Germanic body, and ſetting

[s] Thuan. 277. Sleid. 514.

bounds

bounds to the dangerous encroachments of the Imperial power. Having conſulted with them about the meaſures which might be neceſſary for ſecuring the ſucceſs of ſuch an arduous enterprize, he gave Mansfeldt ſecret aſſurances that the fortifications of Magdeburg ſhould not be deſtroyed, and that the inhabitants ſhould neither be diſturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor be deprived of any of their ancient immunities. In order to engage Maurice more thoroughly from conſiderations of intereſt to fulfill theſe engagements, the ſenate of Magdeburg elected him their Burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral houſe of Saxony, and which entitled him to a very ample juriſdiction not only in the city but in its dependencies [t].

The advantages he derived from his negotiations with the Magdeburgers.

THUS the citizens of Magdeburg, after enduring a ſiege of twelve months, and ſtruggling for their liberties religious and civil with an invincible fortitude worthy of the cauſe in which it was exerted, had at laſt the good fortune to conclude a treaty which left them in a better condition than the reſt of their countrymen, whom their timidity or want of publick ſpirit had betrayed into ſuch mean ſubmiſſions to the Emperor. But while a great part of Germany applauded the gallant conduct of the Magdeburgers, and rejoiced in their having eſcaped the deſtruction with which they had been threatened, all admired Maurice's addreſs in the conduct of his negotiation with them, as well as the dexterity with which he converted every event to his own advantage. They ſaw, with amazement, that after having afflicted the Magdeburgers during many months with all the calamities of war, he was at laſt, by their voluntary election, veſted with ſupreme authority in that city which he had ſo lately beſieged; that after having been ſo long the object of their invectives and ſatire as an apoſtate, and an enemy to the religion which he profeſſed; they ſeemed now to place unbounded confidence in his zeal and good will [u.] At the ſame time, the publick articles in the treaty of capitulation were ſo perfectly conformable to thoſe which the Emperor had granted to the other Proteſtant cities, and Maurice took ſuch care to magnify his merit in hav-

[t] Sleid. 528. Thuan. 276. Obſidionis Magdeburgici deſcriptio per Sebaſt. Beſſelmeierum. ap. Scard. ii. 518.

[u] Arnoldi vita Maurit. apud Menken, ii. 1227.

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ing reduced a place which had defended itſelf with ſo much obſtinacy, that Charles, far from ſuſpecting any thing fraudulent or colluſive in the terms of accommodation, ratified them without heſitation, and abſolved the Magdeburgers from the ſentence of ban which had been denounced againſt them.

His expedient for keeping an army on foot.

THE only point that now remained to embarraſs Maurice was how to keep together the veteran troops which had ſerved under him, as well as thoſe which had been employed in the defence of the town. For this, too, he found an expedient with ſingular art and felicity. His ſchemes againſt the Emperor were not yet ſo fully ripened, that he durſt venture to diſcloſe them, and proceed openly to carry them into execution. The winter was approaching, which made it impoſſible to take the field immediately. He was afraid that it would give a premature alarm to the Emperor, if he ſhould retain ſuch a conſiderable body in his pay until the ſeaſon of action returned in the ſpring. As ſoon then as Magdeburg opened its gates, he ſent home his Saxon ſubjects, whom he could command to take arms and re-aſſemble on the ſhorteſt warning, to their own habitations; and, at the ſame time, paying part of the arrears due to the mercenary troops, who had followed his ſtandard, as well as to the ſoldiers who had ſerved in the garriſon, he abſolved them from their reſpective oaths of fidelity, and diſbanded them. But the moment he gave them their diſcharge, George Duke of Mecklenburg, who was now ſet at liberty, offered to take them into his ſervice, and to become ſurety for the payment of what was ſtill owing to them. As ſuch adventurers were accuſtomed often to change maſters, they inſtantly accepted the offer. Thus, theſe troops were kept united, and ready to march wherever Maurice ſhould call them, while the Emperor, deceived by this artifice, and imagining that the Duke of Mecklenburg had hired them with an intention to aſſert, by force of arms, his claim to a part of his brother's territories, ſuffered it to paſs without obſervation, as if it had been a matter of no conſequence [x].

[x] Thuan. 278. Struv. corp. hiſt. Germ. 1064. Arnoldi vita Mauritii apud Menken, ii. 1227.

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His addreſs in concealing his intentions from the Emperor.

HAVING ventured to take theſe ſteps which were of ſo much conſequence towards the execution of his ſchemes, Maurice, that he might divert the Emperor from obſerving their tendency too narrowly, and prevent the ſuſpicions which that muſt have excited, ſaw the neceſſity of employing ſome new artifice in order to engage his attention, and to confirm him in his preſent ſecurity. As he knew that the chief object of the Emperor's ſolicitude at this juncture, was how he might prevail with the Proteſtant States of Germany to recognize the authority of the council of Trent, and to ſend thither ambaſſadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their reſpective churches, he took hold of this predominating paſſion in order to amuſe and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he deſired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambaſſadors, whom he impowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melancthon and ſome of the moſt eminent among his brethren to prepare a confeſſion of faith, and to lay it before that aſſembly. After his example, and probably in conſequence of his ſolicitations, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Straſburg, and other Proteſtant States appointed ambaſſadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the Emperor for his ſafe conduct, which they obtained in the moſt ample form. This was deemed ſufficient for the ſecurity of the ambaſſadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey; but a ſeparate ſafe-conduct from the council itſelf, was demanded for the Proteſtant divines. The fate of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, whom the council of Conſtance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the Imperial ſafe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and neceſſary. But as the Pope was no leſs unwilling that the Proteſtants ſhould be admitted to an hearing in the council, than the Emperor had been eager in bringing them to demand it, the legate by promiſes and threats prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline iſſuing a ſafe-conduct in the ſame form with that which the council of Baſil had granted to the followers of Huſs. The Proteſtants, on their part, inſiſted upon the council's copying the preciſe words of that inſtrument. The Imperial ambaſſadors interpoſed in order to obtain what would ſatisfy them. Alterations in the form of the writ were propoſed; expedients were

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ſuggeſted; proteſts and counter proteſts were taken; the legate together with his aſſociates laboured to gain their point by artifice and chicane; the Proteſtants adhered to theirs with firmneſs and obſtinacy. An account of every thing that paſſed in Trent was tranſmitted to the Emperor at Inſpruck, who, attempting from an exceſs of zeal, or of confidence in his own addreſs, to reconcile the contending parties, was involved in a labyrinth of inextricable negotiations. By means of this, however, Maurice gained all that he had in view; the Emperor's time was wholly engroſſed, and his attention diverted; while he had leiſure to mature his ſchemes, to carry on his intrigues, and to finiſh his preparations before he threw off the maſk, and ſtruck the blow which he had ſo long meditated [z].

The affairs of Hungary.

BUT previous to the hiſtory of Maurice's operations, ſome account muſt be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing ſuch extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, by a ſtratagem, which ſuited the baſe and inſidious policy of a petty uſurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror, deprived the young King of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate Prince the country of Tranſylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young King, for he ſtill allowed him to retain that title, though he had rendered it only an empty name, he committed to the Queen and Martinuzzi biſhop of Waradin, whom the late King had appointed his ſon's guardians and regents of his dominions, at a time when thoſe offices were of greater importance. This co-ordinate juriſdiction occaſioned the ſame diſſenſions in a ſmall principality as it would have excited in a great kingdom; an ambitious young Queen, conſcious of her capacity for governing, and an high ſpirited prelate, contending who ſhould engroſs the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration. Each had their partizans among the nobles, but as Martinuzzi, by his great talents, began to acquire the aſcendant, Iſabella turned his own arts againſt him, and courted the protection of the Turks.

[z] Sleid. 526, 529. F. Paul. 323, 338. Thuan. 286.

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THE neighbouring baſhas, jealous of the biſhop's power as well as abilities, readily promiſed her the aid which ſhe demanded, and would ſoon have obliged Martinuzzi to have given up to her the ſole direction of affairs, if his ambition, fertile in expedients, had not ſuggeſted to him a new meaſure, and one that tended not only to preſerve but to enlarge his authority. Having concluded an agreement with the Queen, by the mediation of ſome of the nobles who were ſolicitous to ſave their country from the calamities of a civil war, he ſecretly diſpatched one of his confidents to Vienna, and entered into a negotiation with Ferdinand. As it was no difficult matter to perſuade Ferdinand that the ſame man whoſe enmity and intrigues had driven him out of a great part of his Hungarian dominions, might, upon a reconciliation, become equally inſtrumental in recovering them, he liſtened eagerly to the firſt overtures of an union with that prelate. Martinuzzi allured him by ſuch proſpects of advantage, and engaged, with ſo much confidence, that he would prevail on the moſt powerful of the Hungarian nobles to take arms in his favour, that Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his truce with Solyman, agreed to invade Tranſylvania. The command of the troops deſtined for that ſervice, conſiſting of veteran Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, was given to Caſtaldo Marquis de Piadena, an officer formed by the famous Marquis de Peſcara, whom he ſtrongly reſembled both in his enterprizing genius for civil buſineſs, and in his great knowledge in the art of war. This army, more formidable by the diſcipline of the ſoldiers, and the abilities of the general, than by its number, was powerfully ſeconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. As the Turkiſh Baſhas, the Sultan himſelf being at the head of his army on the frontiers of Perſia, could not afford the Queen ſuch immediate or effectual aſſiſtance as the exigency of her affairs required, ſhe quickly loſt all hopes of being able to retain any longer the authority which ſhe poſſeſſed as regent, and even began to deſpair of her ſon's ſafety.

Martinuzzi favours Ferdinand's pretenſions in that kingdom.

MARTINUZZI did not ſuffer his favourable opportunity of accompliſhing his own deſigns to paſs unimproved, and ventured, while ſhe was in this ſtate of dejection, to lay before her a propoſal, which, at any other time, ſhe would have rejected with diſdain. He repreſented how impoſſible it was for her to reſiſt Ferdinand's victorious

The ſucceſs of his meaſures.

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arms; that even if the Turks ſhould enable her to make head againſt them, ſhe would be far from changing her condition to the better, and could not conſider them as deliverers but as maſters to whoſe commands ſhe muſt ſubmit; he conjured her, therefore, as ſhe regarded her own dignity, the ſafety of her ſon, or the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, rather to give up Tranſylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, than to allow both to be uſurped by the inveterate enemy of the Chriſtian faith. At the ſame time, he promiſed her, in Ferdinand's name, a compenſation for herſelf, as well as for her ſon, ſuitable to their rank, and proportional to the value of what they were to ſacrifice. Iſabella, deſerted by ſome of her adherents, diſtruſting others, deſtitute of friends, and ſurrounded by Caſtaldo's and Martinuzzi's troops, ſubſcribed, though with a reluctant hand, theſe hard conditions. Upon this, ſhe ſurrendered ſuch places of ſtrength as were ſtill in her poſſeſſion, ſhe gave up all the enſigns of royalty, particularly a crown of gold, which, as the Hungarians believed, had deſcended from heaven, and conferred on him who wore it an undoubted right to the throne. As ſhe could not bear to remain a private perſon, in a country where ſhe once enjoyed ſovereign power, ſhe inſtantly ſet out with her ſon for Sileſia, in order to take poſſeſſion of the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor, the inveſtiture of which Ferdinand had engaged to grant her ſon, and likewiſe to beſtow one of his daughters upon him in marriage.

Appointed governor of that part of Hungary which was ſubject to Ferdinand.

UPON the reſignation of the young King, Martinuzzi, and after his example the reſt of the Tranſylvanian grandees, ſwore allegiance to Ferdinand; who, in order to teſtify his grateful ſenſe of the zeal as well as ſucceſs with which that prelate had ſerved him, affected to diſtinguiſh him by every poſſible mark of favour and confidence. He appointed him governor of Tranſylvania, with almoſt unlimited authority; he ordered Caſtaldo to pay the greateſt deference to his opinion and commands; he increaſed his revenues, which were already very great, by new appointments; he nominated him archbiſhop of Gran, and prevailed on the Pope to raiſe him to the dignity of a Cardinal. All this oſtentation of good-will, however, was void of ſincerity, and calculated to conceal ſentiments the moſt perfectly its reverſe. Ferdinand dreaded Martinuzzi's abilities; diſtruſted his fidelity; and foreſaw, that as his extenſive authority enabled him to check any attempt towards

towards circumſcribing or aboliſhing the extenſive privileges which the Hungarian nobles poſſeſſed, he would ſtand forth, on every occaſion, the guardian of the liberties of his country, rather than act the part of a viceroy devoted to the will of his ſovereign. Book X. 1551.

FOR this reaſon, he ſecretly gave it in charge to Caſtaldo, to watch his motions, to guard againſt his deſigns, and to thwart his meaſures. But Martinuzzi, either becauſe he did not perceive that Caſtaldo was placed as a ſpy on his actions, or becauſe he deſpiſed Ferdinand's inſidious arts, aſſumed the direction of the war againſt the Turks with his uſual tone of authority, and conducted it with great magnanimity, and no leſs ſucceſs. He recovered ſome places of which the Infidels had taken poſſeſſion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and eſtabliſhed Ferdinand's authority not only in Tranſylvania, but in the Bannat of Temeſwaer, and ſeveral of the countries adjacent. In carrying on theſe operations, he often differed in ſentiments from Caſtaldo and his officers, and treated the Turkiſh priſoners with a degree of humanity, and even of generoſity, which Caſtaldo loudly condemned. This was repreſented at Vienna as an artful method of courting the friendſhip of the Infidels, that, by ſecuring their protection, he might ſhake off all dependance upon the ſovereign whom he now acknowledged. Though Martinuzzi, in juſtification of his own conduct, contended that it was impolitic to exaſperate, by unneceſſary ſeverities, an enemy prone to revenge, Caſtaldo's accuſations gained credit with Ferdinand, prepoſſeſſed already againſt Martinuzzi, and jealous of every thing that could endanger his authority in Hungary, in proportion as he knew it to be precarious and ill eſtabliſhed. Theſe ſuſpicions, Caſtaldo confirmed and ſtrengthened, by the intelligence which he tranſmitted continually to his confidents at Vienna. By miſrepreſenting what was innocent, and putting the worſt conſtruction on what ſeemed dubious in Martinuzzi's conduct; by imputing to him deſigns which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty; he at laſt convinced Ferdinand, that, in order to preſerve his Hungarian crown, he muſt cut off that ambitious prelate. But Ferdinand, foreſeeing that it would be dangerous to proceed in the regular courſe of law againſt a ſubject of ſuch exorbitant power, as enabled him

Ferdinand begins to form deſigns againſt him.

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to ſet his ſovereign at defiance, determined to employ violence in order to obtain that ſatisfaction, which the laws were too feeble to afford him.

He is aſſaſſinated by his command.

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He iſſued his orders accordingly to Caſtaldo, who willingly undertook that infamous ſervice. Having communicated the deſign to ſome Italian and Spaniſh officers whom he could truſt, and concerted with them the plan of executing it; they entered Martinuzzi's apartment, early one morning, under pretence of preſenting to him ſome diſpatches which were to be ſent off immediately to Vienna; and while he peruſed a paper with attention, one of their number ſtruck him with his poniard in the throat. The blow was not mortal; Martinuzzi ſtarted up with the intrepidity natural to him, and grappling the aſſaſſin, threw him to the ground; but the other conſpirators ruſhing in, an old man, unarmed, and alone, could not long ſuſtain ſuch an unequal conflict, but ſunk under the wounds which he received from ſo many hands. The dread of the foreign troops reſtrained the Tranſylvanians from riſing in arms in order to take vengeance on the murderers of a prelate who had long been the object of their love as well as veneration. They ſpoke of the deed, however, with horror and execration; and exclaimed againſt Ferdinand, whom neither gratitude for recent and important ſervices, nor reverence for a character conſidered as ſacred and inviolable among Chriſtians, could reſtrain from ſhedding the blood of a man, whoſe only crime was attachment to his native country. The nobles, deteſting the jealous as well as cruel policy of a court, which, upon uncertain and improbable ſurmiſes, had given up a perſon no leſs conſpicuous for his merit than his rank, to be butchered by aſſaſſins, either retired to their own eſtates, or if they continued with the Auſtrian army, grew cold to the ſervice. The Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whoſe abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew hoſtilities early in the ſpring; and inſtead of the ſecurity which Ferdinand had expected from the removal of Martinuzzi, it was evident that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour, and defended with leſs zeal than ever [a].

The effect of that violent action.

[a] Sleid. 535. Thuan. lib. ix. 309, &c. Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Reg. Hungarici, lib. xvi. 189, &c. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 871. Natalis Comitis Hiſtoria, lib. iv. 84, &c.

Meanwhile,

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Maurice courts the protection of the French King.

MEANWHILE, Maurice having almoſt finiſhed his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field againſt the Emperor. His firſt care, after he came to this reſolution, was to diſclaim that narrow and bigotted maxim of the confederates of Smalkalde, which had led them to ſhun all connection with foreigners. He had obſerved how fatal this had been to their cauſe; and inſtructed by their error, he was as eager to court the protection of Henry II. as they had been ſolicitous to prevent the interpoſition of Francis I. Happily for him he found Henry in a diſpoſition to liſten to the firſt overture on his part, and in a ſituation which enabled him to bring the whole force of the French monarchy into action. Henry had long obſerved the progreſs of the Emperor's arms with jealouſy, and wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by trying his ſtrength againſt the ſame enemy, whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppoſe. He had laid hold on the firſt opportunity in his power of thwarting the Emperor's deſign, by taking the Duke of Parma under his protection; and hoſtilities were already begun, not only in that dutchy, but in Piedmont. Having terminated the war with England by a peace, no leſs advantageous to himſelf than honourable for his allies the Scots, the reſtleſs and enterprizing courage of his nobles was impatient to diſplay itſelf on ſome theatre of action more conſpicuous than the petty operations in Parma or Piedmont afforded them.

His treaty with him.

JOHN DE FIESSE, biſhop of Bayonne, whom Henry had ſent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to conclude a treaty in form with Maurice and his aſſociates. As it would have been very indecent in a King of France to have undertaken the defence of the Proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns they pretended to commit entirely to the diſpoſition of divine providence; the only motives aſſigned for their preſent confederacy againſt Charles were to procure the Landgrave liberty, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German Empire. In order to accompliſh theſe ends, it was agreed, that all the contracting parties ſhould, at the ſame time, declare war againſt the

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Emperor; that neither peace nor truce ſhould be made but by common conſent, nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard againſt the inconveniencies of anarchy, or of pretenſions to joint command, Maurice ſhould be acknowledged as head of the German confederates, with abſolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his aſſociates ſhould bring into the field ſeven thouſand horſe, with a proportionable number of infantry; that towards the ſubſiſtence of this army, during the three firſt months of the war, Henry ſhould contribute two hundred and forty thouſand crowns, and afterwards ſixty thouſand crowns, a month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry ſhould attack the Emperor on the ſide of Lorrain with a powerful army; that if it were found requiſite to elect a new Emperor, ſuch a perſon ſhould be nominated as ſhall be agreeable to the king of France [b]. This treaty was concluded on the fifth of October, ſome time before Magdeburg ſurrendered, and the preparatory negotiations were conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that of all the Princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated what he was carrying on to two only, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburg, and William of Heſſe, the Landgrave's eldeſt ſon. The league itſelf was no leſs anxiouſly concealed, and with ſuch fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the Emperor or his miniſters, nor do they ſeem to have conceived the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of ſuch a tranſaction.

Solicits the aid of Edward VI. of England.

At the ſame time Maurice, with a ſolicitude which was careful to draw ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from every quarter, applied to Edward VI. of England, and requeſted a ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand crowns for the ſupport of a confederacy formed in defence of the Proteſtant religion. But the factions which prevailed in the Engliſh court during the minority of that Prince, and which deprived both the councils and arms of the nation of their wonted vigour, left the Engliſh miniſters neither time or inclination to attend to foreign affairs, and prevented Maurice's obtaining that aid, which their zeal for the Reformation would have prompted them to grant him [c].

[b] Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 258. Thuan. lib. viii. 279.
[c] Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii. Append. 37.

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MAURICE, however, having ſecured the protection of ſuch a powerful Monarch as Henry II. proceeded with great confidence, but with equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it neceſſary to make one effort more, in order to obtain the Emperor's conſent that the Landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, in his own name, and in that of the Elector of Brandenburg, to Inſpruck. After reſuming, at great length, all the facts and arguments upon which they founded their claim, and repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the peculiar engagements which bound them to be ſo aſſiduous in their ſolicitations, they renewed the requeſt in behalf of the unfortunate priſoner, which they had ſo often preferred in vain. The Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Duke of Deux-ponts, the Marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and the Marquis of Baden, by their ambaſſadors, concurred with them in their ſuit. Letters were likewiſe delivered to the ſame effect from the King of Denmark, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Dukes of Lunenburg. Even the King of the Romans, moved with compaſſion towards the Landgrave in his wretched ſituation, or influenced, perhaps, by a ſecret jealouſy of his brother's power and deſigns, which ſince his attempt to alter the order of ſucceſſion in the Empire, he had come to view with other eyes, and dreaded to a great degree, joined in this application.

Demands once more that the Landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty. December.

BUT Charles, conſtant to his own ſyſtem, with regard to the Landgrave, eluded a demand urged by ſuch powerful interceſſors; and having declared that he would communicate his reſolution concerning the matter to Maurice as ſoon as he arrived at Inſpruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to deſcend into any more particular explication of his intentions [d]. This application, though of no benefit to the Landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It ſerved to juſtify his ſubſequent proceedings, and to demonſtrate the neceſſity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable conceſſion, which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. It was of uſe, too, to confirm the Emperor in his ſecurity, as both the ſolemnity of the application, and the ſolicitude

[d] Sleid. 531. Thuan. lib. viii. 280.

with

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1551. with which ſo many Princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude, that Maurice placed all his hopes of reſtoring the Landgrave to liberty, in gaining his conſent to diſmiſs him.

1552. Maurice continues to amuſe the Emperor.

MAURICE employed artifices ſtill more refined to conceal his machinations, to amuſe the Emperor and to gain time. He affected to be more ſolicitous than ever to find out ſome expedient for removing the difficulties with regard to the ſafe conduct for the Proteſtant divines appointed to attend the council, ſo that they might repair thither with ſafety. His ambaſſadors at Trent had frequent conferences concerning this matter, with the Imperial ambaſſadors in that city, and laid open their ſentiments to them with the appearance of the moſt unreſerved confidence. He was willing, at laſt, to have it believed, that he thought all differences with reſpect to this preliminary article were on the point of being adjuſted; and in order to give credit to this opinion, he commanded Melancthon together with his brethren to ſet out on their journey to Trent. At the ſame time, he held a cloſe correſpondence with the Imperial court at Inſpruck, and renewed on every occaſion his profeſſions of fidelity and attachment to the Emperor. He talked continually of his intention of going to Inſpruck in perſon; he ordered a houſe to be hired for him in that city, and to be fitted up with the greateſt diſpatch for his reception [e].

The Emperor conceives ſome ſuſpicions concerning his intentions.

BUT, profoundly ſkilled as Maurice was in the arts of deceit, and impenetrable as he thought the veil to be under which he concealed his deſigns, there were ſeveral things in his conduct which alarmed the Emperor amidſt his ſecurity, and tempted him frequently to ſuſpect that he was meditating ſomething extraordinary. As theſe ſuſpicions took their riſe from circumſtances inconſiderable in themſelves, or of an ambiguous as well as uncertain nature, they were more than counterbalanced by Maurice's addreſs; and the Emperor would not, lightly, give up his confidence in a man, whom he had once truſted and loaded with favours. One particular alone ſeemed to be of ſuch conſequence, that he thought it neceſſary to demand an explanation with regard to it. The troops, which George of Mecklenburg had taken into pay after the capitulation of Magdeburgh, having fixed their quar-

[e] Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken, ii. 1229.

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ters in Thuringia, lived at diſcretion on the lands of the rich eccleſiaſtics in their neighbourhood. Their licenſe and rapaciouſneſs were intolerable. Such as felt or dreaded their exactions, complained loudly to the Emperor, and repreſented them as a body of men kept in readineſs for ſome deſperate enterprize. But Maurice, partly by extenuating the enormities of which they had been guilty, partly by repreſenting the impoſſibility of diſbanding theſe troops, or of keeping them to regular diſcipline, unleſs the arrears ſtill due to them by the Emperor were paid, either removed the apprehenſions which this had occaſioned, or as Charles was not in a condition to ſatisfy the demands of theſe ſoldiers, obliged him to be ſilent with regard to the matter [f].

Maurice prepares for action.

THE time of action was now approaching. Maurice had privately diſpatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his league with Henry, and to haſten the march of the French army. He had taken meaſures to bring his own ſubjects together on the firſt ſummons; he had provided for the ſecurity of Saxony while he ſhould be abſent with the army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on a moment's warning. All theſe complicated operations were carried on without being diſcovered by the court at Inſpruck, and the Emperor remained there in perfect tranquillity, buſied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of the Pope's legate at Trent, and in ſettling the conditions on which the Proteſtant divines ſhould be admitted into the council, as if there had not been any tranſaction of greater moment in agitation.

Circumſtances which contributed to deceive the Emperor,

THIS credulous ſecurity in a Prince, whoſe ſagacity in obſerving the conduct of all around him, commonly led him to an exceſs of diſtruſt, may ſeem unaccountable, and has been imputed to infatuation. But beſides the exquiſite addreſs with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumſtances contributed to the deluſion. The gout returned upon Charles ſoon after his arrival at Inſpruck, with an increaſe of violence; and his conſtitution being broken by ſuch frequent attacks, he was ſeldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to conſider affairs with his uſual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, his prime miniſter, though

[f] Sleid. 549. Thuan. 339.

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one of the moſt ſubtle ſtateſmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was on this occaſion the dupe of his own craft. He entertained ſuch an high opinion of his own abilities, and held the political talents of the Germans in ſuch contempt, that he deſpiſed all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's ſecret machinations, or the dangerous deſigns which he was carrying on. When the Duke of Alva, whoſe dark ſuſpicious mind harboured many doubts concerning the Elector's ſincerity, propoſed calling him immediately to court to anſwer for his conduct, he replied with great ſcorn, that theſe apprehenſions were groundleſs, and that a drunken German head was too groſs to form any ſcheme which he could not eaſily penetrate and baffle. Nor did he aſſume this peremptory tone merely from confidence in his own diſcernment; he had bribed two of Maurice's miniſters, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their maſter's motions. But through this very channel, by which he expected to gain acceſs to all Maurice's counſels, and even to his thoughts, ſuch intelligence was conveyed to him as compleated his deception. Maurice fortunately diſcovered the correſpondence of the two traitors with Granvelle, and inſtead of puniſhing them for their crime, he dexterouſly availed himſelf of their fraud, and turned his own arts againſt the biſhop. He affected to treat theſe miniſters with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his conſultations, and ſeemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what it was his intereſt ſhould be known, they tranſmitted to Inſpruck ſuch accounts as poſſeſſed Granvelle with a firm belief of his ſincerity and good intentions [g]. The Emperor himſelf, in the fulneſs of ſecurity, was ſo little moved by a memorial, in name of the eccleſiaſtical Electors, admoniſhing him to be on his guard againſt Maurice, that he made light of this intelligence; and his anſwer to them abounds with declarations of his entire and confident reliance on the fidelity as well as attachment of that Prince [h].

and his miniſters.

Maurice takes the field againſt the Emperor.

At laſt Maurice's preparations were compleated, and he had the ſatisfaction to find that his intrigues and deſigns were ſtill unknown. But, though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aſide the arts which he had

[g] Melvil. Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 12. [h] Sleid. 535.

hitherto

hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out, that he was about to begin that journey to Inſpruck of which he had ſo often talked, and he took one of the miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed to attend him thither. After travelling poſt a few ſtages, he pretended to be indiſpoſed by the fatigue of the journey, and diſpatching the ſuſpected miniſter to make his apology to the Emperor for this delay, and to aſſure him that he would be at Inſpruck within a few days; as ſoon as this ſpy on his actions was gone, he mounted on horſeback, rode full ſpeed towards Thuringia, joined his army which amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and put it immediately in motion [i].

Publiſhes a manifeſto juſtifying his conduct.

At the ſame time he publiſhed a manifeſto containing his reaſons for taking arms. Theſe were three in number; That he might ſecure the Proteſtant religion, which was threatened with immediate deſtruction; That he might maintain the conſtitution and laws of the Empire, and ſave Germany from being ſubjected to the domination of an abſolute monarch; That he might deliver the Landgrave of Heſſe from the miſeries of a long and unjuſt impriſonment. By the firſt, he rouzed all the favourers of the Reformation, a party formidable by their zeal as well as numbers, and rendered deſperate by oppreſſion. By the ſecond, he intereſted all the friends of liberty, Catholicks as well as Proteſtants, and made it their intereſt to unite with him in aſſerting the rights and privileges common to both. The third, beſides the glory which he acquired by his zeal to fulfil his engagements to the unhappy priſoner, was become a cauſe of general concern, not only from the compaſſion which the Landgrave's ſufferings excited, but from indignation at the injuſtice and rigour of the Emperor's proceedings againſt him. Together with Maurice's manifeſto, another appeared in the name of Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg Culmbach, who had joined him with a body of adventurers whom he had drawn together. The ſame grievances which Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it, but with an exceſs of virulence and animoſity, ſuit-

[i] Melv. Mem. p. 13. Theſe circumſtances, concerning the Saxon miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed, are not mentioned by the German hiſtorians; but, as Sir James Melvil received his information from the Elector Palatine, and as they are perfectly agreeable to the reſt of Maurice's conduct, they may be conſidered as authentick.

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able to the character of the prince in whose name it was published.

1552. He is powerfully supported by the French King.

THE king of France added to these a manifesto in his own name; in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both descended from the same ancestors; and after mentioning the applications, which, in consequence of this, some of the most illustrious among the German Princes had made to him for his protection; he declared that he now took arms to re-establish the ancient constitution of the Empire, to deliver some of its princes from captivity, and to secure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanick body. In this manifesto, Henry assumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany, and of its captive Princes*; and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient symbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans, that this blessing was to be acquired and secured by force of arms [k].

Maurice's operations in the field.

MAURICE had now a very different part to act, but his flexible genius was capable of accommodating itself to every situation. The moment he took arms, he was as bold and enterprizing in the field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinstated the magistrates whom the Emperor had deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augsburg, and as the Imperial garrison which was too inconsiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took possession of that great city, and made the same changes there as in the towns through which he had passed.

April 1.

The Emperor's astonishment and distress.

NO words can express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected. He saw a great number of the German Princes in arms against him, and the rest either ready to join them, or wishing success to their enterprize. He beheld a powerful Monarch united with them in close league, seconding their operations in person at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence and credulity, which exposed him no

[k] Sleid. 549. Thuan. lib. x. 339. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 371.

less

leſs to ſcorn than to danger, had neither made, nor was in condition to make, any effectual proviſion either for cruſhing his rebellious ſubjects, or reſiſting the invaſion of the foreign enemy [1]. Part of his Spaniſh troops had been ordered into Hungary againſt the Turks; the reſt had marched back to Italy upon occaſion of the war in the dutchy of Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had been diſmiſſed, becauſe he was not able to pay them; or had entered into Maurice's ſervice after the ſiege of Magdeburg; and he remained at Inſpruck with a body of ſoldiers ſcarce ſtrong enough to guard his own perſon. His treaſury was much exhauſted, as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for ſome time from the new world. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refuſed to lend him money, tho' tempted by the offer of exorbitant intereſt. Thus, Charles, though undoubtedly the moſt conſiderable potentate in Chriſtendom, and capable of exerting the greateſt ſtrength, (as his power, though violently attacked, was ſtill unimpaired,) found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered him unable to make ſuch a ſudden and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was neceſſary to have ſaved him from the preſent danger. Book X. 1552.

In this ſituation, he placed all his hopes on negotiating; the only reſource of thoſe who are conſcious of their own weakneſs. But thinking it inconſiſtent with his dignity to make the firſt advances to ſubjects who were in arms againſt him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice, confiding in his own talents to conduct any negotiation in ſuch a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the firſt overture of accommodation, he might amuſe the Emperor and tempt him to ſlacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himſelf, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Auſtria: and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the Duke of Mecklenburg, he repaired thither. Endeavours to gain time by a negotiation.

The King of France punctually fulfilled his engagement to his allies. He took the field early with a numerous and well appointed army, and marching directly in- Progreſs of the French Army.

[1] Sleid. 555. Thuan. 342.

to

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to Lorrain, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent ſtratagem of the Conſtable Montmorency, who having obtained permiſſion to paſs through it with a ſmall guard, introduced as many troops as were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon, was likewiſe ſeized without bloodſhed. Henry made his entry into all theſe towns with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to him, and annexed theſe important conqueſts to the French Monarchy. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Metz. From thence he advanced towards Alſace, in order to attempt new conqueſts, to which the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms invited him [m].

The negotiations between the Emperor and Maurice, of no effect.

THE conference at Lintz did not produce any accommodation. Maurice, when he conſented to it, ſeems to have had nothing in view but to amuſe the Emperor; for he made ſuch demands both in behalf of his confederates, and their ally the French King, as he knew would not be accepted by a prince, too haughty to ſubmit, at once, to conditions dictated by an enemy. But, how firmly ſoever Maurice adhered, during the negotiation, to the intereſts of his aſſociates, or how ſteadily ſoever he kept in view the objects which had induced him to take arms, he often profeſſed a ſtrong inclination to terminate the differences with the Emperor in an amicable manner. Encouraged by this appearance of a pacifick diſpoſition, Ferdinand propoſed a ſecond interview at Paſſau, on the twenty-ſixth of May, and that a truce ſhould commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June, in order to give them leiſure for adjuſting all the points in diſpute.

Maurice advances towards Inſpruck.

UPON this, Maurice rejoined his army on the ninth of May, which had now advanced to Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion next morning; and as ſixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he reſolved, during that period, to venture upon an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which would be ſo deciſive, as would render the negotiations at Paſſau extremely ſhort, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. He foreſaw that the proſpect of a ceſſation of arms, which was to take place ſo ſoon, together with the opinion of his earneſtneſs to re-eſtabliſh peace, with

[m] Thuan. 349.

which

which he had artfully amuſed Ferdinand, could not fail of inſpiring the emperor with ſuch falſe hopes, that he would naturally become remiſs, and relapſe into ſome degree of that ſecurity, which had already been ſo fatal to him. Relying on this conjecture, he marched directly towards Inſpruck, and advanced with the moſt rapid motion that could be given to ſo great a body of troops. On the eighteenth he arrived at Fieſſen, a poſt of great conſequence, at the entrance into the Tyroleſe. There he found a body of eight hundred men, whom the Emperor had aſſembled, ſtrongly entrenched, in order to oppoſe his progreſs. He attacked them inſtantly with ſuch violence and impetuoſity, that they abandoned their lines precipitately, and falling back on a ſecond body poſted near Ruten, communicated to thoſe troops, the pannick terror with which they themſelves had been ſeized, ſo that they likewiſe took to flight after a feeble reſiſtance.

Takes the caſtle of Ehrenbergh.

ELATED with this ſucceſs, which exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes, Maurice paſſed on to Ehrenbergh, a caſtle ſituated on an high and ſteep precipice, which commanded the only paſs through the mountains. As this fort had been ſurrendered to the Proteſtants, at the beginning of the Smalkaldic war, becauſe the garriſon was then too weak to defend it, the Emporor, ſenſible of its importance, had taken care, at this juncture, to throw into it a body of troops ſufficient to maintain it againſt the greateſt army. But a ſhepherd, in purſuing a goat which had ſtrayed from his flock, having diſcovered an unknown path, by which it was poſſible to aſcend to the top of the rock, came with his ſeaſonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A ſmall band of choſen ſoldiers, under the command of George of Mecklenburg, was inſtantly ordered to follow this guide. They ſet out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the ſummit unperceived; and at an hour which had been concerted, when Maurice began the aſſault on the one ſide of the caſtle, they appeared on the other, ready to ſcale the walls, which were feeble in that place, becauſe it had been hitherto deemed inacceſſible. The garriſon, ſtruck with terror at the ſight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themſelves perfectly ſecure, immediately

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ately threw down their arms. Maurice, almoſt without bloodſhed, and, which was of greater conſequence to him, without loſs of time, took poſſeſſion of a place, the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmoſt efforts of his valour and ſkill [n].

A mutiny of his troops retards his march.

MAURICE was now only two days march from Inſpruck, and without loſing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unſerviceable in that mountainous country, at Fieſſen, to guard the mouth of the paſs. He propoſed to advance with ſuch rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loſs of Ehrenberg, and to ſurprize the Emperor together with his attendants in an open town incapable of defence. But juſt as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not ſtir until they had received the gratuity, which, according to the cuſtom of that age, they claimed as the recompenſe due to them for having taken a place by aſſault. It was with great difficulty, as well as danger, and not without ſome conſiderable loſs of time, that Maurice quieted this inſurrection, and prevailed on the ſoldiers to follow him to a place where he promiſed them ſuch rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their ſervices.

The Emperor flies in confuſion from Inſpruck.

To the delay occaſioned by this unforeſeen accident, the Emperor owed his ſafety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could ſave him but a ſpeedy flight, he inſtantly left Inſpruck, without regarding the darkneſs of the night, or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time; and, notwithſtanding his beng ſo much debilitated by the gout, that he could bear no motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almoſt impaſſible. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, ſome of them on ſuch horſes as they could haſtily procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmoſt confuſion. In this miſerable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and ſcarce thought himſelf ſecure even in that remote inacceſſible corner.

[n] Arnoldi vita Maurit. 123.

MAURICE

MAURICE entered Inſpruck a few hours after the Emperor and his attendants had left it; and, enraged that the prey ſhould eſcape out of his hands when he was juſt ready to ſeize it, he purſued them ſome miles; but finding it impoſſible to overtake perſons, to whom their fear gave ſpeed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the Emperor's baggage and that of his miniſters to be plundered by the ſoldiers; while he preſerved untouched every thing belonging to the King of the Romans, either becauſe he had formed ſome friendly connection with that Prince, or becauſe he wiſhed to have it believed that ſuch a connection ſubſiſted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce, (with ſuch nicety had Maurice calculated his operations) he ſet out for Paſſau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed.

1552. Maurice enters that town.

BEFORE Charles left Inſpruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded Elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a priſoner; and ſet him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarraſs Maurice by letting looſe a rival, who might diſpute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a ſenſe of the indecency of detaining him a priſoner, while he himſelf run the riſque of being deprived of his own liberty. But that Prince, ſeeing no way of eſcaping, but that which the Emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinſman, whom he juſtly conſidered as the author of all his misfortunes, choſe rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final deciſion of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

The Emperor ſets the Elector of Saxony at liberty.

THIS was not the only effect which Maurice's operations produced. It was no ſooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general conſternation had ſeized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the ſafety of their territories. The reſt were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto diſappointed all the endeavours of the Imperial ambaſſadors to procure for the Proteſtant divines an audience in the council, laid hold with joy on ſuch a plauſible pretext for diſmiſſing an aſſembly, which he had found it ſo difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the twenty-eighth of April, a decree was iſſued for

The council of Trent, breaks up in great conſternation.

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proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-eſtabliſhed in Europe [o]. This prorogation, however, continued no leſs than ten years; and its proceedings, when re-aſſembled in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two, fall not within the period preſcribed to this hiſtory.

The effect of its decrees.

THE convocation of this aſſembly had been ſo paſſionately deſired by all the ſtates and Princes in Chriſtendom, who, from the wiſdom and piety of prelates repreſenting the whole body of the faithful, expected ſome charitable and efficacious endeavours towards compoſing the diſſenſions which unhappily had ariſen in the church. But the ſeveral popes, by whoſe authority it was called, had other objects in view; and, exerting all their power or policy to attain theſe, acquired, by the abilities as well as addreſs of their legates, by the ignorance of many of the prelates, and by the ſervility of the indigent Italian biſhops, ſuch influence in the council, that they dictated all its decrees, and framed them, not with an intention to reſtore unity and concord to the church, but to eſtabliſh their own dominion, or to confirm theſe tenets, upon which they imagined that dominion to be founded. Doctrines, which had hitherto been admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and received with ſome latitude of interpretation, were defined with a ſcrupulous nicety, and confirmed by the ſanction of authority. Rites, which had formerly been obſerved only in deference to cuſtom ſuppoſed to be ancient, were eſtabliſhed by the decrees of the church, and declared to be eſſential parts of its worſhip. The breach, inſtead of being cloſed, was widened, and made irreparable. In place of any attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a line was drawn with ſuch ſtudied accuracy, as aſcertained and marked out the diſtinction between them. This ſtill ſerves to keep them at a diſtance; and muſt, without ſome ſignal interpoſition of divine Providence, render the ſeparation perpetual.

Character of the hiſtorians of this council.

OUR knowledge of the proceedings of this aſſembly is derived from three different authors. Father Paul of Venice wrote his hiſtory of the Council of Trent, while the memory of what had paſſed there was recent, and ſome who had been members of it were ſtill alive. He has ex-

[o] F. Paul, 353.

poſed

poſed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and ſeverity which have given a deep wound to the credit and reputation of the council. He has deſcribed its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with ſuch perſpicuity and depth of thought, with ſuch various erudition and ſuch force of reaſon, as have juſtly entitled his work to be placed among the moſt admired hiſtorical compoſitions. About half a century thereafter, the Jeſuit Pallavicini publiſhed his hiſtory of the council, in oppoſition to that of Father Paul, and, by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reaſonings, of his antagoniſt, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and ſubtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spaniſh doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambaſſadors at Trent, ſent the biſhop of Arras a regular account of the tranſactions there, explaining all the arts which the Legate employed to influence, or overawe the council. His letters have been publiſhed, in which he inveighs againſt the Papal court with that aſperity of cenſure, which was natural to a man whoſe ſituation enabled him to obſerve its arts thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to diſappoint them. But, whichſoever of theſe authors an intelligent perſon takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the ſpirit of the council, he muſt diſcover ſo much ambition as well as artifice among ſome of the members, ſo much ignorance and corruption among others; he muſt obſerve ſuch a large infuſion of human policy and paſſions, but ſuch a ſcanty portion of that ſimplicity of heart, ſanctity of manners, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worſhip is acceptable to him; that he will find it no eaſy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghoſt hovered over this aſſembly, and dictated its decrees.

The French endeavour to ſurprize Straſburgh.

WHILE Maurice was employed in negotiating with the King of the Romans at Lintz, or in making war on the Emperor in the Tyrol, the French King had advanced into Alſace as far as Straſburgh; and having demanded leave of the Senate to march through the city, he hoped

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that by repeating the ſame fraud which he had practiſed at Metz, he might render himſelf maſter of the place, and by that means ſecure a paſſage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Straſburghers, inſtructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortune of their neighbours, ſhut their gates; and having aſſembled a gariſon of five thouſand ſoldiers, prepared their fortifications, razed the houſes in their ſuburbs, and determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. At the ſame time they ſent a deputation of their moſt reſpectable citizens to the King, in order to divert him from making any hoſtile attempt upon them. The Electors of Treves and Cologn, the Duke of Cleves, and other Princes in the neighbourhood, interpoſed in their behalf; beſeeching Henry that he would not forget ſo ſoon the title which he had generouſly aſſumed; and, inſtead of being the Diliverer of Germany, become its Oppreſſor. The Swiſs cantons ſeconded them with zeal, ſoliciting Henry to ſpare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendſhip and alliance.

But without ſucceſs

POWERFUL as this united interceſſion was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of ſo much value, if he had been in a condition to have ſeized it. But, in that age, the method of ſubſiſting numerous armies at a diſtance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly underſtood, and neither the revenues of Princes, nor their experience in the art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which ſuch an undertaking required. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to ſuffer for want of proviſions, and had no ſufficient magazines collected to ſupport them during a ſiege, which muſt neceſſarily have been of great length [p]. At the ſame time, the Queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low-Countries, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Roſſem, laid waſte Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. Theſe concurring circumſtances obliged the King, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprize. But being willing to acquire ſome merit with his allies, by this retreat which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiſs that he had taken the reſolution merely in compliance with their requeſt [q]; and then, after giving orders

[p] Thuan. 351, 352. [q] Sleid. 557. Brantome, tom. vii. 39.

orders that all the horſes in his army ſhould be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of his having puſhed his conqueſts ſo far, he marched back towards Champagne. Book X. 1552.

WHILE the French King and the main army of the confederates were thus employed; Albert of Brandenburgh was intruſted with the command of a ſeparate body of eight thouſand men, conſiſting chiefly of mercenaries who had reſorted to his ſtandard, rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay. That Prince, ſeeing himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of deſperate adventurers ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them, ſoon began to diſdain a ſtate of ſubordination, and to form ſuch vaſt ſchemes of aggrandizing himſelf, as ſeldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unleſs when civil war or violent factions rouze them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of ſucceſs. Full of theſe aſpiring thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very different from the other confederates. He endeavoured to ſpread the terror of his arms by the rapidity of his motions, as well as the extent and rigour of his devaſtations; he exacted contributions wherever he came, in order to amaſs ſuch a ſum of money, as would put it in his power to keep his army together; he laboured to get poſſeſſion of Nurembergh, Ulm, or ſome other of the free cities in Upper Germany, in which, as a capital, he might fix the ſeat of his power. But, finding theſe cities on their guard, and in a condition to reſiſt his attacks, he turned all his rage againſt the popiſh eccleſiaſticks, whoſe tertitories he plundered with ſuch wanton and mercileſs barbarity, as gave them a very unfavourable impreſſion of the ſpirit of that reformation in religion, with zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The biſhops of Bambergh and Wurtzburg, by their ſituation, lay particularly expoſed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almoſt one half of his extenſive dioceſe; and compelled the latter to advance an immenſe ſum, in order to ſave his country from ruin and deſolation. During all theſe wild ſallies, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whoſe commands, as Generaliſſimo of the league, he had engaged to obey, or to the remonſtrances of the other confederates; and manifeſtly diſcovered that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any ſolicitude about the com- The operations of Albert of Brandenburgh.

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mon cauſe, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms [q].

1552. The negotiations of peace at Paſſau.

MEANWHILE, Maurice having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, and having publiſhed a proclamation enjoining the Lutheran clergy and inſtructors of youth, to reſume the exerciſe of their functions in all the cities, ſchools, and univerſities, from which they had been ejected, met Ferdinand at Paſſau on the twenty-ſixth day of May. As matters of the greateſt conſequence to the future peace and independance of the Empire were to be ſettled in this congreſs, the eyes of all Germany were fixed upon it. Beſides Ferdinand and the Imperial ambaſſadors, the Duke of Bavaria, the biſhops of Saltzburgh, and Aichſtadt, the miniſters of all the Electors, together with deputies from moſt of the conſiderable Princes and free cities, reſorted to Paſſau. Maurice, in name of his aſſociates, and the King of the Romans, as the Emperor's repreſentative, opened the negotiation. The Princes who were preſent, together with the deputies of ſuch as were abſent, acted as interceſſors or mediators between them.

The terms which Maurice propoſed.

MAURICE, in a long diſcourſe, explained the motives of his own conduct. After having enumerated all the unconſtitutional and oppreſſive acts of the Emperor's adminiſtration, he, agreeably to the manifeſto which he had publiſhed when he took arms againſt him, limited his demands to three articles. That the Landgrave of Heſſe ſhould be immediately ſet at liberty; That the grievances in the civil government of the Empire ſhould be redreſſed; and that the Proteſtants ſhould be allowed the publick exerciſe of their religion without moleſtation. Ferdinand and the Imperial ambaſſadors diſcovering their unwillingneſs to gratify him with regard to all theſe points, the mediators wrote a joint letter to the Emperor, beſeeching him to deliver Germany from the calamities of a civil war, by giving ſuch ſatisfaction to Maurice and his party as might induce them to lay down their arms; and at the ſame time they prevailed upon Maurice to grant a prolongation of the truce for a ſhort time, during which they undertook to procure the Emperor's final anſwer to his demands.

Powerfully ſupported by the Princes of the empire.

THIS requeſt was preſented to the Emperor in the name of all the princes of the Empire, Popiſh as well as Proteſtant, in the name of ſuch as had lent a hand to forward

[q] Sleid. 561. Thuan. 357.

ward his ambitious ſchemes, as well as of thoſe who had viewed the progreſs of his power with jealouſy and dread. The uncommon and cordial unanimity with which they concurred at this juncture, in enforcing Maurice's demands, and in recommending peace, flowed from different cauſes. Such as were moſt attached to the Roman catholick church could not help obſerving that the Proteſtant confederates were at the head of a numerous army, while the Emperor was but juſt beginning to provide for his own defence. They foreſaw that great efforts would be required of them, and would be neceſſary on their part, in order to cope with enemies, who had been allowed to get the ſtart ſo far, and to attain ſuch formidable power. Experience had taught them, that the fruit of all theſe efforts would be reaped by the Emperor alone, and the more compleat any victory proved which they ſhould gain, the faſter would they bind their own fetters and render them the more intolerable. Theſe conſiderations made them cautious how they contributed a ſecond time, by their indiſcreet zeal, to put the Emperor in poſſeſſion of power which would be fatal to the liberties of their country. Notwithſtanding the implacable fierceneſs of the ſpirit of bigotry in that age, they choſe rather that the Proteſtants ſhould acquire that ſecurity for their religion which they demanded, than, by aſſiſting Charles to oppreſs them, to give ſuch additional force to the Imperial prerogative, as would overturn the conſtitution of the Empire. To all theſe conſiderations, the dread of ſeeing Germany laid waſte by a civil war added new force. Many ſtates of the Empire already felt the deſtructive rage of Albert's arms, others dreaded it, and all wiſhed for an accommodation between the Emperor and Maurice, which they hoped would ſave them from that cruel ſcourge.

The motives which influenced the Emperor at this juncture.

SUCH were the reaſons that induced ſo many Princes, notwithſtanding the variety of their political intereſts, and the oppoſition in their religious ſentiments, to unite in recommending to the emperor an acommodation with Maurice, not only as a ſalutary, but as a neceſſary meaſure. The motives which prompted Charles to deſire it were not fewer or of leſs weight. He was perfectly ſenſible of the advantage which the confederates had acquired through his own negligence; and he now felt the inſufficiency of his own reſources to oppoſe them. His Spaniſh ſubjects, diſguſted at his long abſence, and weary of

Book X. 1552. of endleſs wars, which were of no benefit to their country, refuſed to furniſh him any conſiderable ſupply either of men or money; and although he might hope by his addreſs or importunity to draw from them at laſt more effectual aid; that, he knew, was too diſtant to be of any ſervice in the preſent exigency of his affairs. His treaſury was drained; his veteran forces were diſperſed, or diſbanded, and he could not depend much either on the fidelity or courage of the new levied ſoldiers whom he was collecting. There was no hope of repeating with ſucceſs the ſame artifices which had weakened and ruined the Smalkaldic league. As the end at which he aimed was now known, he could no longer employ the ſpecious pretexts, which had formerly concealed his ambitious deſigns. Every Prince in Germany was alarmed and on his guard; and it was vain to think of blinding them a ſecond time to ſuch a degree, as to make one part of them inſtruments to enſlave the other. The ſpirit of a confederacy, whereof Maurice was the head, experience had taught him to be very different from that of the league of Smalkalde; and from what he had already felt, he had no reaſon to flatter himſelf that its counſels would be as irreſolute, or its efforts as timid and feeble. If he ſhould reſolve on continuing the war, he might lay his account that the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Germany would take part in it againſt him; and a dubious neutrality was the utmoſt he could expect from the reſt. While the confederates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, the King of France would ſeize the favourable opportunity, and puſh on his operations in another, with almoſt certain ſucceſs. That Monarch had already made conqueſts in the Empire, which he was no leſs eager to recover, than impatient to be revenged on him for aiding his malecontent ſubjects. Tho' Henry had now retired from the banks of the Rhine, he had only varied the ſcene of hoſtilities, having invaded the Low-Countries with all his forces. The Turks, rouſed by the ſolicitations of the French King, as well as ſtimulated by reſentment againſt Ferdinand for having violated the truce in Hungary, had prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, which he had left almoſt defenceleſs, by calling thence the greateſt part of the regular troops to join the army which he was now aſſembling.

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FERDINAND, who went in perſon to Villach, in order to lay before the Emperor the reſult of the conferences at Paſſau, had likewiſe reaſons peculiar to himſelf for deſiring an accommodation. Theſe prompted him to ſecond, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the arguments which the Princes, aſſembled there, had employed in recommending it. He had obſerved, not without ſeeret ſatisfaction, the fatal blow which had been given to the deſpotic power, which his brother had uſurped in the Empire. He was extremely ſolicitous to prevent Charles from recovering what he had loſt, as he foreſaw that he would immediately reſume with freſh eagerneſs, and a better chance of ſucceſs, his favourite ſcheme of tranſmitting that power to his ſon by excluding him from the right of ſucceſſion to the Imperial throne. On this account, he was willing to contribute towards circumſcribing the Imperial authority, in order to render his own poſſeſſion of it certain. Beſides, Solyman, exaſperated at the loſs of Tranſylvania, and ſtill more at the fraudulent arts by which it had been ſeized, had ordered into the field an army of an hundred thouſand men, which having defeated a great body of Ferdinand's troops, and taken ſeveral places of importance, threatened not only to complete the conqueſt of the province, but to drive him out of that part of Hungary which was ſtill ſubject to his juriſdiction. He was unable to reſiſt ſuch a mighty enemy; his brother, while engaged in a domeſtic war, could afford him no aid; and he could not even hope to draw from Germany the contingent either of troops or money, uſually furniſhed to repel the invaſions of the Infidels. Maurice, having obſerved Ferdinand's perplexity, with regard to this laſt point, had offered, if peace were re-eſtabliſhed on a ſecure foundation, that he would march in perſon with his troops into Hungary to his aſſiſtance. Such was the effect of this well-timed propoſal, that Ferdinand, deſtitute of every other proſpect of relief, became the moſt zealous advocate the confederates could have choſen to urge their claims, and there was ſcarce any thing that they could have demanded which he would not have choſen to grant, rather than to have retarded a pacification, to which he truſted as the only means of ſaving his Hungarian crown.

Ferdinand zealous to promote an accommodation.

WHEN ſo many cauſes conſpired in rendering an accommodation elegible, it might have been expected that it would have immediately taken place. But the inflexibility of the Emperor's temper, together with his unwillingneſs

Circumſtances which retard it.

Book X. lingneſs to relinquiſh, at once, objects which he had long purſued with ſuch earneſtneſs and aſſiduity, counterbalanced, for ſome time, the force of all the motives which diſpoſed him to peace, and not only put that event at a diſtance, but ſeemed to render it uncertain. When Maurice's demands, together with the letter of the mediators at Paſſau, were preſented to him, he peremptorily refuſed to redreſs the grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any ſtipulation for the immediate ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, but propoſed referring both theſe to the determination of a future diet. On his part, he required that inſtant reparation ſhould be made to all who, during the preſent war, had ſuffered either by the licentiouſneſs of the confederate troops, or the actions of their leaders.

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Maurice's vigorous operations facilitate it.

MAURICE, who was well acquainted with the Emperor's arts, immediately concluded that he had nothing in view in theſe overtures but to amuſe and deceive; and therefore, without liſtening to Ferdinand's entreaties, he left Paſſau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, he put them in motion, and renewed hoſtilities. As three thouſand men in the Emperor's pay had thrown themſelves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infeſt the neighbouring country of Heſſe, he marched towards that city, and laid ſiege to it in form. The briſkneſs of this enterprize, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches againſt the town, gave ſuch an alarm to the Emperor, as diſpoſed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it neceſſary to bend, and ſignified his willingneſs to make conceſſions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his demands. Ferdinand, as ſoon as he perceived that he began to yield, did not deſiſt from his importunities, until he prevailed on him to declare what was the utmoſt that he would grant for the ſecurity of the confederates. Having gained this difficult point, he inſtantly diſpatched a meſſenger to Maurice's camp, and imparting to him the Emperor's final reſolution, conjured him not to fruſtrate his endeavours for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace; or, by an unſeaſonable obſtinacy on his ſide, to diſappoint the wiſhes of all Germany for that ſalutary event.

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MAURICE,

1552. Maurice desirous of an accommodation.

MAURICE, notwithstanding the prosperous situation of his affairs, was strongly inclined to listen to his advice. The Emperor, though over-reached and surprized, had now begun to assemble troops, and how slow soever his motions might be, while the first effects of his consternation remained, he was sensible that Charles must at last act with vigour proportional to the extent of his power and territories, and lead into Germany an army formidable by its numbers, and still more by the terror of his name, as well as the remembrance of his past victories. He could scarce hope that a confederacy, composed of so many members, would continue to operate with sufficient union and perseverance to resist the consistent and well directed efforts of an army, at the absolute disposal of a leader accustomed to command and to conquer. He felt already, although he had not hitherto experienced the shock of any adverse event, that he was the head of a disjointed body. He saw from the example of Albert of Brandenburgh, how difficult it would be, with all his address and credit, to prevent any particular member from detaching himself from the whole, and how impossible to recall him to his proper rank and subordination. This filled him with apprehensions for the common cause. Another consideration gave him no less disquiet with regard to his own particular interests. By setting at liberty the degraded Elector, and by repealing the act depriving him of his hereditary honours and dominions, the Emperor had it in his power to wound him in the most sensible part. The efforts of a Prince beloved by his ancient subjects, and revered by all the Protestant party, in order to recover what had been unjustly taken from him, could scarce have failed of exciting commotions in Saxony, which would endanger all that he had acquired at the expence of so much dissimulation and artifice. It was no less in the Emperor's power to render vain all the solicitations of the confederates in behalf of the Landgrave. He had only to add one act of violence more to the injustice and rigour with which he had already treated him; and he had accordingly threatened the sons of that unfortunate Prince, that if they persisted in their present enterprize, instead of seeing their father restored to liberty, they should hear of his having suffered the punishment which his rebellion had merited [r].

[r] Sleid. 571.

HAVING

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1552. The peace of Religion concluded at Paſſau.

HAVING deliberated upon all theſe points with his aſſociates, Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of the conditions offered, though leſs advantageous than thoſe he had propoſed, than again to commit all to the doubtful iſſue of war [s]. He repaired forthwith to Paſſau, and ſigned the treaty of peace; of which the chief articles were, That before the twelfth day of Auguſt, the confederates ſhall lay down their arms, and diſband their forces; That on or before that day the Landgrave ſhall be ſet at liberty, and conveyed in ſafety to his caſtle of Rheinfels; That a diet ſhall be held within ſix months, in order to deliberate concerning the moſt proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all diſputes and diſſentions about religion; That, in the mean time, neither the Emperor nor any other Prince, ſhall, upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of Augſburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undiſturbed exerciſe of their religion; That the Proteſtants, in return, ſhall not moleſt the Catholicks either in the exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the Imperial chamber ſhall adminiſter juſtice impartially to perſons of both parties, and Proteſtants be admitted indiſcriminately with the Catholicks to ſit judges in that court; That if the next diet ſhould not be able to terminate the diſputes with regard to religion, the ſtipulations in the preſent treaty in behalf of the Proteſtants, ſhall continue for ever in full force and vigour; That none of the confederates ſhall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the courſe of the war; That the conſideration of thoſe encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the conſtitution and liberties of the Empire, ſhall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburgh ſhall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he ſhall accede to it, and diſband his forces before the twelfth of Auguſt [t].

Reflections upon this peace, and upon the conduct of Maurice.

SUCH was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, that overturned the vaſt fabric, in erecting which Charles had employed ſo many years, and had exerted the utmoſt of his

[s] Sleid. Hiſt. 563, &c. Thuan. lib. x. 359, &c.
[t] Recueil des Traitez, ii. 261.

power

power and policy; which annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority abſolute and hereditary in his family; and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant church, which had hitherto ſubſiſted precariouſly in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and ſecure baſis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and compleated this unexpected revolution. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that the Reformation ſhould be indebted for its ſecurity and full eſtabliſhment in Germany, to the ſame hand which had formerly brought it to the brink of deſtruction, and that both events ſhould have been accompliſhed by the ſame arts of diſſimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view, at theſe different junctures, ſeem to have been more attended to than the means by which they attained them; and he was now as univerſally extolled for his zeal and publick ſpirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and intereſted policy. It is no leſs worthy of obſervation, that the French King, a monarch zealous for the Catholick faith, ſhould, at the very time he was perſecuting his own Proteſtant ſubjects with all the fierceneſs of bigotry, employ his power in order to protect and maintain the Reformation in the Empire; and that the league for this purpoſe, which proved ſo fatal to the Romiſh church, ſhould be negotiated and ſigned by a Roman catholick biſhop. So wonderfully doth the wiſdom of God ſuperintend and regulate the caprice of human paſſions, and render them ſubſervient towards the accompliſhment of his own purpoſes!

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LITTLE attention was paid to the intereſts of the French King during the negotiations at Paſſau. Maurice and his aſſociates, having gained what they had in view, diſcovered no great ſolicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they reckoned to be over-paid, by his acquiſitions in Lorrain, for the aſſiſtance which he had given them. A ſhort clauſe, which they procured to be inſerted in the treaty, importing that the King of France might communicate to theſe confederates his particular pretenſions or cauſes of hoſtility, which they would lay before the Emperor, was the only ſign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their ſucceſs. Henry experienced the ſame treatment, which every Prince who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war

Little attention paid to the French King in this treaty.

Book X. 1552. war may expect. As ſoon as the rage of faction began to ſubſide, and any proſpect of accommodation began to open, his ſervices were forgotten, and his aſſociates made a merit with their ſovereign, of the ingratitude with which they abandoned their protector. But how much ſoever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they haſtened to make their peace with the Emperor at his expence, he was perfectly ſenſible that it was more his intereſt to keep well with the Germanick body, than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reaſon he diſmiſſed the hoſtages which he had received from Maurice and his aſſociates, and affected to talk in the ſame ſtrain, as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the Empire.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

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AS ſoon as the treaty of Paſſau was ſigned, Maurice, in conſequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary at the head of twenty thouſand men. But the vaſt ſuperiority of the Turkiſh armies, the frequent mutinies, both of the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, occaſioned by their want of pay, together with the diſſentions between Maurice and Caſtaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to reſign the chief command to him, prevented his performing any thing in that country worthy of his former fame, or of great benefit to the King of the Romans [t]. Book XI. 1552. Aug. 3. Maurice marches into Hungary againſt the Turks.

WHEN Maurice ſet out for Hungary, the Prince of Heſſe parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return, and give up to him the reins of government which he had held during his abſence. But fortune was not yet weary of perſecuting the Landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops, The Landgrave of Heſſe recovers his liberty.

[t] Iſtuanhaffi Hiſt. Hungar. 228. Thuan. lib. x. 371.

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troops, which had been in the pay of Heſſe, being ſeduced by Reifenberg their colonel, a ſoldier of fortune, and ready to engage in any enterprize, ſecretly withdrew from the young Prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburgh, who ſtill continued in arms againſt the Emperor, refuſing to be included in the treaty of Paſſau. Unhappily for the Landgrave, an account of this reached the Netherlands, juſt as he was diſmiſſed from the citadel of Mechlin where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The Queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incenſed at ſuch an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, commanded him to be arreſted, and committed him again to the cuſtody of the ſame Spaniſh captain who had guarded him for five years with ſuch ſevere vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his impriſonment renewed, and his ſpirits ſubſiding in the ſame proportion as they had riſen during the ſhort interval in which he had enjoyed liberty, he ſunk into deſpair, and believed himſelf to be doomed to perpetual captivity. But the matter being explained to the Emperor's full ſatisfaction, that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the Landgrave nor to his ſon, he gave orders for his releaſe; and Philip at laſt obtained the liberty for which he ſo long languiſhed [u]. But though he recovered his freedom, and was reinſtated in his dominions, his ſufferings ſeem to have broken the vigour, and to have extinguiſhed the activity of his mind: From being the boldeſt as well as moſt enterprizing Prince in the Empire, he became the moſt timid and cautious, and paſſed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence.

Likewiſe the Elector of Saxony.

The degraded Elector of Saxony likewiſe procured his liberty in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau. The Emperor having been obliged to relinquiſh all his ſchemes for extirpating the Proteſtant Religion, had no longer any motive for detaining him a priſoner; and being extremely ſolicitous, at that juncture, to recover the confidence and good will of the Germans, whoſe aſſiſtance was eſſential to the ſucceſs of the enterprize which he meditated againſt the King of France, he, among other expedients for that

[u] Sleid. 573. Belcarii Comment. 834.

purpoſe,

purpoſe, thought of releaſing from impriſonment a Prince whoſe merit entitled him no leſs to eſteem, than his ſufferings rendered him the object of compaſſion. John Frederick took poſſeſſion accordingly of that part of his territories which had been reſerved for him, when Maurice was inveſted with the Electoral dignity. As he continued to diſplay in this ſituation, the ſame virtuous magnanimity, for which he had been conſpicuous in a more proſperous and ſplendid ſtate, and which he had retained amidſt all his ſufferings, he lived ſeveral years in that high reputation to which he had ſo juſt a title.

The Emperor reſolves to make war upon France.

THE loſs of Metz, Toul and Verdun, had made a deep impreſſion on the Emperor. Accuſtomed to terminate all his operations againſt France with advantage to himſelf, he thought that it nearly concerned his honour not to allow Henry the ſuperiority in this war, or to ſuffer his own adminiſtration to be ſtained with the infamy of having permitted territories of ſuch conſequence to be diſmembered from the Empire. This was no leſs a point of intereſt than of honour. As the frontier of Champagne was more naked, and lay more expoſed than that of any province in France, he had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon it with great ſucceſs and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conqueſts, France would gain ſuch a formidable barrier on that ſide, as to be altogether ſecure, where formerly ſhe had been the weakeſt. On the other hand, the Emperor had now loſt as much, in point of ſecurity, as France had acquired, and being ſtripped of the defence which thoſe cities afforded it, lay open to be invaded on a quarter, where all the towns having been hitherto conſidered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but ſlightly fortified. Theſe conſiderations determined Charles to attempt recovering the three towns of which Henry had made himſelf maſter; and the preparations which he made againſt Maurice and his aſſociates enabled him to carry his reſolution into immediate execution.

His preparations for this purpoſe.

As ſoon, then, as the peace was concluded at Paſſau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augſburg at the head of a conſiderable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To theſe he added ſeveral battalions, which having been in the pay of the

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confederates, entered into his ſervice when diſmiſſed by them; and he prevailed likewiſe on ſome of the Princes of the Empire to join him with their vaſſals. In order to conceal the deſtination of this formidable army, and to guard againſt alarming the French ſo as to put them on preparing for their defence, he gave out that he was to march forthwith into Hungary, in order to ſecond Maurice in his operations againſt the Infidels. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he tried a new artifice, and ſpread a report that he was marching in order to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburgh, whoſe cruel exactions in that part of the Empire called loudly for his interpoſition to check them.

The precautions of the French for the defence of Metz.

But the French having grown acquainted, at laſt, with arts by which they had been ſo often deceived, viewed all Charles's motions with diſtruſt. Henry immediately gueſſed the true object of his vaſt preparations, and reſolved to defend the important conqueſts which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foreſaw that the whole weight of the war would be turned againſt Metz, the fate of which would decide that of Toul and Verdun, he nominated Francis of Lorrain Duke of Guiſe to take the command in that city during the ſiege, the iſſue of which would equally affect the honour and intereſt of his country. His choice could not have fallen upon any perſon more worthy of that truſt. The Duke of Guiſe poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all the qualities of courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, which render men eminent in military command. He was largely endowed with that magnanimity of ſoul which delights in bold enterprizes, and aſpires to fame by ſplendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation aſſigned him, as to a theatre on which he might diſplay his great qualities under the immediate eye of his countrymen, all ready to applaud him. The martial genius of the French nobility in that age, which conſidered it as the greateſt reproach to remain inactive, when there was any opportunity of ſignalizing their courage, prompted great numbers to follow a leader who was the darling as well as the pattern of all that courted military fame. Several Princes of the blood, many noblemen of the higheſt rank, and all the

The Duke of Guiſe appointed Governor of the town.

the young officers who could obtain the King's permiſſion, entered Metz as volunteers. By their preſence they added ſpirit to the garriſon, and enabled the Duke of Guiſe to employ on every emergency perſons eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fit to conduct any ſervice.

Prepares for a vigorous defence.

But with whatever alacrity the Duke of Guiſe undertook the defence of Metz, he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in ſuch a ſituation, as might have induced any perſon of leſs intrepid courage to deſpair of defending it with ſucceſs. The city was of great extent, with large ſuburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers, which projected inſtead of baſtions, were at too great diſtance from each other to defend the ſpace between them. For all theſe defects he endeavoured to provide the beſt remedy, which the time would permit. He ordered the ſuburbs, without ſparing the monaſteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which ſeveral Kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but in order to guard againſt the imputation of impiety, to which ſuch a violation of ſo many ſacred edifices, as well as of the aſhes of the dead might expoſe him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy veſtments and utenſils, together with the bones of the Kings, and other perſons depoſited in theſe churches to be removed, they were carried in ſolemn proceſſion to a church within the walls, he himſelf walking before them uncovered, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was neceſſary that all theſe works ſhould be finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the ſoldiers ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to the moſt ſevere fatigues, when they ſaw that their ſuperiors did not decline to bear a part in theſe together with them. At the ſame time he compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; burnt the mills; and deſtroyed the corn and forage for ſeveral miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers; and every other paſſion being ſwallowed up in the zeal to

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repulſe the enemy, with which he inſpired them, they beheld the ruin of their eſtates, together, with the havock, which he made among their publick and private buildings, without any emotion of reſentment [x].

Charles advances towards Metz.

MEANTIME, the Emperor, having collected all his forces, continued his march towards Metz. As he paſſed through the cities on the Rhine, he ſaw the diſmal effects of that licentious and waſteful war which Albert had carried on in theſe parts. Upon his approach, that Prince, though at the head of twenty thouſand men, withdrew into Lorrain, as if he had intended to join the French King, whoſe arms he had quartered with his own in all his ſtandards and enſigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops, which amounted at leaſt to ſixty thouſand men, forming one of the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies that had been brought into the field, during that age, in any of the wars among the Chriſtian Princes [y].

Inveſts the town.

THE chief command under the Emperor, was committed to the Duke of Alva, aſſiſted by the Marquis de Marignano, together with the moſt experienced of the Italian and Spaniſh generals. As it was towards the end of October, theſe intelligent officers repreſented the great danger of beginning, at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon, a ſiege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinion with his uſual obſtinacy, and being confident that he had made ſuch preparations, and taken ſuch precautions, as would enſure ſucceſs, he ordered the city to be inveſted. As ſoon as the Duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French ſallied out and attacked his van guard with great vigour, put it in confuſion, and killed or took priſoners a conſiderable number of men. By this early ſpecimen, which they gave of the conduct of their officers, as well as the valour of their troops, they ſhewed the Imperialiſts what an enemy they had to encounter, and how dear every advantage muſt coſt them. The place, however, was compleatly inveſted, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

Oct. 19.

Both parties endeavour to gain Albert of Brandenburgh.

THE attention both of the beſiegers and beſieged was turned for ſome time towards Albert of Brandenburgh,

[x] Thuan. xi. 387.
[y] Natal. Comit. Hiſt. 127.

and

and they ſtrove with emulation which ſhould gain that Prince, who ſtill hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of irreſolution, natural to a man, who being ſwayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of intereſt. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the Imperialiſts ſcrupled at no promiſe which they thought would make an impreſſion upon him. After much heſitation, he was gained by the Emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages, which were both more immediate and more permanent. As the French King, who began to ſuſpect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops under the Duke of Aumale, brother to the Duke of Guiſe, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly, with ſuch vigour, that he routed them entirely, killed many of the officers, wounded Aumale himſelf, and took him priſoner. Immediately after this victory, he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the Emperor. Charles, in reward for this ſervice, and the great acceſſion of ſtrength which he brought him, granted Albert a pardon, in form, of paſt offences, and confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the territories which he had violently uſurped during the war [z].

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Nov. 4.

The gallant behaviour of the Duke of Guiſe and his garriſon.

THE Duke of Guiſe, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in any degree, the vigour with which he defended the town. He harraſſed the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in which his officers were ſo eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, that his authority, being ſcarce ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuoſity of their courage, he was obliged at different times to ſhut the gates and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the Princes of the blood, and noblemen of the firſt rank, from expoſing themſelves to danger in every ſally. He repaired in the night what the enemy's artillery had beat down during the day, or erected behind the ruined works, new fortifications of almoſt equal ſtrength. The Imperialiſts, on their part, puſhed on the attack with great ſpirit, and carried forward, at once, approaches againſt different parts of the town. But the art of attacking fortified places was not then arrived at that degree of perfection, to which

[z] Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, 392.

Book XI. 1552. it was carried towards the close of the sixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The besiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progress; and although their batteries had made breaches in different places, they saw, to their astonishment, works suddenly appear, in demolishing which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. The Emperor, enraged at the obstinate resistance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that by his presence he might animate the soldiers, and urge on the attack with greater spirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts made with redoubled ardour.

Nov. 26.

The distress of the Imperial army.

But, by this time, the winter had set in with great rigour; the camp was alternately deluged with rain, or covered with snow; at the same time, provisions were become extremely scarce, as the body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighbourhood, often interrupted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diseases began to spread among the soldiers, especially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to such inclement weather; great numbers were disabled from serving, and many died. At length, such breaches were made as seemed practicable, and the Emperor resolved to hazard a general assault, in spite of all the remonstrances of his generals concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garrison, conducted and animated by the most gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diseases, and disheartened with ill success. The Duke of Guise, suspecting his intentions, from the extraordinary hurry which he observed in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their respective posts. They appeared immediately on the wall, and behind the breaches, with such a determined countenance, so eager for the combat, and so well prepared to give the assailants a warm reception, that the Imperialists, instead of advancing to the charge, when the word of command was given, stood motionless, in a timid dejected silence. The Emperor, perceiving that he could not trust troops whose spirits were so much broken, retired abruptly to his

his quarters, complaining that he was now deſerted by his ſoldiers, who deſerved no longer the name of men [w]. Book XI.

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DEEPLY as this behaviour of his troops mortified and affected him, Charles would not hear of abandoning the ſiege, though he ſaw the neceſſity of changing the method of attack. He ſuſpended the fury of his batteries, and propoſed to proceed by the more ſecure but tedious method of ſapping. But as it ſtill continued to rain or to ſnow almoſt inceſſantly, ſuch as were employed in this ſervice endured incredible hardſhips; and the duke of Guiſe, whoſe induſtry was not inferior to his valour, diſcovering all their mines, counter-worked them, and prevented their effect. At laſt, Charles, finding it impoſſible to contend any longer with the rigour of the ſeaſon, and with enemies, whom he could neither overpower by force, nor ſubdue by art, while at the ſame time a contagious diſtemper raged among his troops, and cut off daily great numbers of his officers as well as ſoldiers, yielded to the ſolicitations of his generals, who conjured him to ſave the remains of his army by a timely retreat; "Fortune," ſays he, "I now perceive, reſembles other females, and chooſes to confer her favours on young men, while ſhe forſakes thoſe who are advanced in years." The Emperor changes the method of attack.

UPON this, he gave orders immediately to raiſe the ſiege, and ſubmitted to the diſgrace of abandoning the enterprize, after having continued fifty-ſix days before the town, during which time he had loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, who died of diſeaſes, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guiſe, as ſoon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialiſts, took meaſures to prevent their retiring unmoleſted, and ſent out ſeveral bodies, both of cavalry and infantry, to infeſt their rear, to pick up ſtragglers, and to ſeize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confuſion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the moſt cruel manner. But when they ſallied out, a ſpectacle preſented itſelf to their view, which extinguiſhed at once all hoſtile rage, and melted them into tenderneſs and compaſſion. The Imperial camp was filled with the ſick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort beyond their ſtrength to eſcape, Dec. 26. Obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

Ruin of the Imperial army, and humanity of the French.

[w] Thuan. 397.

were

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were left, when they could go no farther, to periſh without aſſiſtance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guiſe immediately ordered proper refreſhments for ſuch as were dying of hunger; he appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded: he removed ſuch as could bear it into the adjacent villages; and thoſe who would have ſuffered by being carried ſo far, he admitted into the hoſpitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own ſoldiers. As ſoon as they recovered, he ſent them home, under an eſcort of ſoldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By theſe acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and ferocity than at preſent, the duke of Guiſe compleated the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and ſucceſsful defence of Metz, and engaged thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name [x].

Bad ſituation of the Emperor's affairs in Italy.

To theſe calamities in Germany, were added ſuch unfortunate events in Italy, as rendered this the moſt diſaſtrous year in the Emperor's life. During his reſidence at Villach, Charles had applied to Coſmo di Medici for the loan of two hundred thouſand crowns. But his credit, at that time was ſo low, that, in order to obtain this inconſiderable ſum, he was obliged to put him in poſſeſſion of the principality of Piombino, and, by giving up that, he loſt the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuſcany, and enabled Coſmo to aſſume, for the future, the tone and deportment of a Prince altogether independant. Much about the time that his indigence conſtrained him to part with this valuable territory, he loſt Siena, which was of ſtill greater conſequence, through the ill conduct of Don Diego de Mendoza [y].

The revolt of Siena.

SIENA, like moſt of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government, under the protection of the Empire; but being torn in pieces by the diſſentions between the nobles and the people, which divided

[x] Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, &c. Pere Daniel, Hiſt. de France, tom. iii. 392. Pere Daniel's account of this ſiege is taken from the journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was preſent. Natal. Comit. Hiſtor. 129.

[y] Thuan. lib. xi. 376.

all

all the commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the aſcendant, beſought the Emperor to become the guardian of the adminiſtration which they had eſtabliſhed, and admitted into their city a ſmall body of Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he had ſent to countenance the execution of the laws, and to preſerve tranquillity among them. The direction of theſe troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambaſſador for the Emperor at Rome, who perſuaded the credulous multitude, that it was neceſſary, for their ſecurity againſt any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Siena; and as he flattered himſelf that by means of this fortreſs he might render the Emperor maſter of the city, he puſhed on the works with all poſſible diſpatch. But he threw off the maſk too ſoon. Before the fortifications were compleated, he began to indulge his natural haughtineſs and ſeverity of temper, and to treat the citizens with great inſolence. At the ſame time, the ſoldiers in garriſon being paid as irregularly as the Emperor's troops uſually were, lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of licenſe and oppreſſion.

The Sieneſe court the aſſiſtance of France.

THESE injuries awakened the Sieneſe to a ſenſe of their danger. As they ſaw the neceſſity of exerting themſelves, while the unfiniſhed fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of ſucceſs, they applied to the French ambaſſador at Rome, who readily promiſed them his maſter's protection and aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, forgetting their domeſtic animoſities when ſuch a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and exiſtence of the republick, they ſent agents to the exiled nobles, and invited them to concur with them in ſaving their country from the ſervitude with which it was threatened. As there was not a moment to loſe, meaſures were concerted ſpeedily, but with great prudence; and were executed with equal vigour. The citizens roſe ſuddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town from different parts with all their partizans, and what troops they could draw together; and ſeveral bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to ſupport them. The Spaniards, tho' ſurprized, and much inferior in number, defended themſelves with great courage; but ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their ſtation long in a half-finiſhed fortreſs, they ſoon gave it up. The Sieneſe, with the utmoſt alacrity, levelled it with the

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the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious ſtructure, which had been raiſed in order to enſlave them. At the ſame time renouncing all connection with the Emperor, they ſent ambaſſadors to the King of France as the reſtorer of their liberty, and to intreat that he would ſecure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that bleſſing by continuing his protection to their republick [z].

Deſcent of the Turks in the kingdom of Naples.

To theſe misfortunes, one ſtill more fatal had almoſt ſucceeded. The ſevere adminiſtration of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, having filled that kingdom with murmuring and diſaffection, the Prince of Salerno, the head of the malcontents, had fled to the court of France, where all who bore ill-will to the Emperor or his miniſters, were ſure of finding protection and aſſiſtance. That nobleman, in the uſual ſtile of exiles, boaſting much of his partizans, and of his great influence with them, prevailed on Henry to think of invading Naples, from expectation of being joined by all thoſe with whom the Prince of Salerno held correſpondence, or who were diſſatisfied with Toledo's government. But though the firſt hint of this enterprize was ſuggeſted by the Prince of Salerno, Henry did not chooſe that its ſucceſs ſhould entirely depend upon his being able to fulfil the promiſes which he had made. He applied for aid to Solyman, whom he courted, after his father's example, as his moſt vigorous auxiliary againſt the Emperor, and ſolicited him to ſecond his operations by ſending a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. It was not difficult to obtain what he requeſted of the Sultan, who, at this time, was highly incenſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, on account of their proceedings in Hungary. He ordered an hundred and fifty ſhips to be equipped, that they might ſail towards the coaſt of Naples, at whatever time Henry ſhould name, and might co-operate with the French troops in their attempts upon that kingdom. The command of this fleet was given to the corſair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbaroſſa, and ſcarce inferior to his maſter in courage, in talents, or in good fortune. He appeared on the coaſt of Calabria at the time which had been agreed on, landed at ſeveral places, plundered

[z] Pecci Memorie de Siena, vol. iii. p. 230, 261. Thuan. 375, 377, &c. Paruta. Hiſt. Venet. 267. Mem. de. Ribier. 424, &c.

and

and burnt ſeveral villages; and at laſt caſting anchor in the bay of Naples, filled that city with conſternation. But as the French fleet, detained by ſome accident, which the contemporary hiſtorians have not explained, did not join the Turks according to concert, they, after waiting twenty days, without hearing any thing of it, ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, and thus delivered the vice-roy of Naples from the terror of an invaſion, which he was in no condition to have reſiſted [a]. 1552.

As the French had never given ſo ſevere a check to the Emperor in any former campaign, they expreſſed immoderate joy at the ſucceſs of their arms. Charles himſelf, accuſtomed to a long ſeries of proſperity, felt the blow moſt ſenſibly, and retired from Metz into the Low-Countries, much dejected with the cruel reverſe of fortune which affected him in his declining age, when the violence of the gout had increaſed to ſuch a pitch, as entirely broke the vigour of his conſtitution, and rendered him peeviſh, difficult of acceſs, and often incapable of applying to buſineſs. But whenever he enjoyed any interval of eaſe, all his thoughts were bent upon revenge; and he deliberated, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, concerning the moſt proper means of annoying France, and of effacing the ſtain which had obſcured the reputation and glory of his arms. All the ſchemes concerning Germany, which had engroſſed him ſo long, being diſconcerted by the peace of Paſſau, the affairs of the Empire became only ſecondary objects of attention; and enmity to France was the predominant paſſion which chiefly occupied his mind. 1553. The Emperor ſenſibly affected with the ſtate of his affairs.

The turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburgh excited violent commotions, which diſturbed the Empire during this year. That Prince's troops having ſhared in the calamities of the ſiege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number. But the Emperor, prompted by gratitude for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices on that occaſion, or perhaps with a ſecret view of fomenting diviſions among the Princes of the Empire, having paid up all the money due to him, he was enabled, by that ſum, to hire ſo many of the ſoldiers, diſmiſſed from the Imperial army, that he was ſoon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The biſhops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg having ſolicited the Imperial chamber to annul, by its authority, The violent proceedings of Albert of Brandenburgh.

[a] Thuan. 375, 380. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 403. Gianene.

the

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the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to ſign, that court unanimouſly finding all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, becauſe they had been extorted by force, enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them; and exhorted all the Princes of the Empire, if he ſhould perſiſt in ſuch an unjuſt demand, to take arms againſt him, as a diſturber of the publick tranquillity. To this deciſion, Albert oppoſed the confirmation of his tranſactions with the two prelates, which the Emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the Imperial army at Metz; and in order to intimidate his antagoniſts, and to convince them of his reſolution not to relinquiſh his pretenſions, he put his troops in motion, that he might ſecure the territory in queſtion. Various endeavours were employed, and many expedients propoſed, in order to prevent the kindling a new war in Germany. But the ſame warmth of temper which rendered Albert turbulent and enterprizing, inſpiring him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, even in his wildeſt undertakings, he diſdainfully rejected all reaſonable overtures of accommodation.

He is condemned by the Imperial chamber

UPON this, the Imperial chamber iſſued its decree againſt him, and required the Elector of Saxony, together with ſeveral other Princes mentioned by name, to take arms in order to carry it into execution. Maurice and thoſe aſſociated with him were not unwilling to undertake this ſervice. They were extremely ſolicitous to maintain publick order, by ſupporting the authority of the Imperial chamber, and ſaw the neceſſity of giving a timely check to the uſurpations of an ambitious Prince who had no principle of action but regard to his own intereſt, and no motive to direct him but the impulſe of ungovernable paſſions. They had good reaſon to ſuſpect that the Emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings, and ſecretly afforded him aſſiſtance, that, by raiſing him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make uſe of his aſſiſtance to counterbalance and control the authority which the other had acquired in the Empire [b].

[b] Sleid. 585. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 442. Arnoldi. vita Maurit. ap. Menken. ii. 1242.

THESE

THESE conſiderations united the moſt powerful Princes in Germany in a league againſt Albert, of which Maurice was declared generaliſſimo. This formidable confederacy, however, wrought no change in Albert's ſentiments; but as he knew that he could not reſiſt ſo many Princes, if he ſhould allow them time to aſſemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantage which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and, for that reaſon, marched directly againſt Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded moſt. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a Prince of ſuch abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inſpired them with vigour, and having carried on their preparations with a degree of rapidity, of which confederate bodies are ſeldom capable, he was in condition to face Albert before he could make any conſiderable progreſs.

1553. April 2. A confederacy formed againſt him, of which Maurice was head.

THEIR armies, which were nearly equal in number, each conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, met at Sieverhauſen in the dutchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animoſity againſt each other, which poſſeſſed the two leaders, did not ſuffer them to continue long inactive. The troops inflamed with the ſame hoſtile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greateſt obſtinacy; and as both generals were capable of availing themſelves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At laſt victory declared for Maurice, who was ſuperior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confuſion, leaving four thouſand dead in the field, and their camp, baggage and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their beſt troops ſuffered greatly, two ſons of the Duke of Brunſwick, a Duke of Lunenburgh, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were among the number of the ſlain [c]. But all theſe were ſoon forgotten, for Maurice himſelf, as he led up to a ſecond charge a body of horſe which had been broken, received a wound with a piſtol bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the

He attacks Albert, July 9. and defeats his army; but is killed in the battle.

[c] Hiſtoria pugnæ infelicis inter Maurit. & Albert. Thom. Wintzero auctore apud Scard. ii. 559. Sleid. 583. Ruſcelli epiſtres aux Princes, 154. Arnoldi vita Maurit. 1245.

battle,

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battle, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and in the ſixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

1553.

His character.

Of all the perſonages who have appeared in the hiſtory of this active age, when great occurrences, and ſudden revolutions, called forth extraordinary talents to view, and afforded them full opportunity to diſplay themſelves, Maurice may juſtly be conſidered as the moſt remarkable. If his exorbitant ambition, his profound diſſimulation, and his unwarrantable uſurpation of his kinſman's honours and dominions exclude him from being praiſed as a virtuous man; his prudence in concerting his meaſures, his vigour in executing them, and the uniform ſucceſs with which they were attended, entitled him to the appellation of a great Prince. At an age, when impetuoſity of ſpirit commonly predominates over political wiſdom, when the higheſt efforts even of a genius of the firſt order is to fix on a bold ſcheme, and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the moſt artful Monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the Emperor had attained almoſt unlimited deſpotiſm, Maurice, with power ſeemingly inadequate to ſuch an undertaking, compelled him to relinquiſh all his uſurpations, and eſtabliſhed, not only the religious, but civil, liberties of Germany on ſuch foundations, as have hitherto remained unſhaken. Although at one period of his life, his conduct excited the jealouſy of the Proteſtants, and at another drew on him the reſentment of the Roman Catholicks, ſuch was his maſterly addreſs, that he was the only Prince of the age, who in any degree poſſeſſed the confidence of both, and whom both lamented as the moſt able as well as faithful guardian of the conſtitution and laws of his country.

The conſternation which Maurice's death occaſioned among his troops, prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they had gained.

Albert continues the war.

Albert, whoſe active courage, and profuſe liberality, rendered him the darling of ſuch military adventurers as were little ſolicitous about the juſtice of his cauſe, ſoon re-aſſembled his broken forces, and made freſh levies, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was quickly at the head of fifteen thouſand men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunſwick, having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a ſecond battle, ſcarce leſs bloody than the former. Even

Sept. 12.

then

then his courage did not ſink, nor were his reſources exhauſted. He made ſeveral efforts, and ſome of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs: but, being laid under the ban of the Empire by the Imperial chamber; being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories, as well as thoſe which he had uſurped; being forſaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been, for a conſiderable time, the terror and ſcourge of Germany, he lingered out a few years in an indigent and dependant ſtate of exile, the miſeries of which his reſtleſs and arrogant ſpirit endured with the moſt indignant impatience. Upon his death without iſſue, his territories, which had been ſeized by the Princes who took arms againſt him, were reſtored, by a decree of the Emperor, to his collateral heirs of the houſe of Brandenburgh [d].

1553. He is driven out of Germany.

Jan. 12. 1557.

MAURICE, having left only one daughter, who was afterwards married to William, Prince of Orange, by whom ſhe had a ſon, who bore his grandfather's name, and inherited the great talents for which he was conſpicuous, a violent diſpute aroſe concerning the ſucceſſion to his honours and territories. John Frederick, the degraded Elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial eſtate, of which he had been violently ſtripped after the Smalkaldic war. Auguſtus, Maurice's only brother, pleaded his right not only to the hereditary poſſeſſions of their family, but to the electoral dignity and to the territories which Maurice had acquired. As Auguſtus was a Prince of conſiderable abilities, as well as of great candour and gentleneſs of manners, the States of Saxony, forgetting the merits and ſufferings of their former maſter, declared warmly in his favour. His pretentions were powerfully ſupported by the King of Denmark whoſe daughter he had married, and zealouſly eſpouſed by the King of the Romans out of regard to Maurice's memory. The degraded Elector, though ſecretly favoured by his ancient enemy the Emperor, was at laſt obliged to relinquiſh his claim, upon obtaining a ſmall addition to the territories which had been allotted to him, together with a ſtipulation, ſecuring to his family the eventual ſucceſſion, upon a failure of male heirs in the Albertine line. That unfortunate but magnani-

Maurice's brother Auguſtus ſucceeds him in the electoral dignity.

[d] Sleid. 592, 594, 599. Struv. Corp. hiſt. Germ. 1075.

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mous Prince died next year, ſoon after ratifying this treaty of agreement; and the electoral dignity is ſtill poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Auguſtus [e].

Hoſtilities in the Low-Countries.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with conſiderable vigour. The Emperor, impatient to efface the ſtain which his ignominious repulſe at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early in the field, and laid ſiege to Terouane. Though the town was of ſuch importance that Francis uſed to call it one of the two pillows on which a King of France might ſleep with ſecurity, the fortifications were in diſrepair: Henry, truſting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was neceſſary to render all the efforts of the enemy abortive, than to reinforce the garriſon with a conſiderable number of the young nobility. But d'Eſſe, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the Imperialiſts puſhing the ſiege with great vigour and perſeverance, the place was taken by aſſault. That it might not fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town to be raſed, and the inhabitants to be diſperſed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Imperialiſts immediately inveſted Heſdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewiſe taken by aſſault, and ſuch of the garriſon as eſcaped the ſword were made priſoners. The Emperor intruſted the conduct of this ſiege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy Prince of Piedmont, who, on that occaſion, gave the firſt diſplay of his great talents for military command, which ſoon entitled him to be ranked among the firſt generals of that age, and facilitated his re-eſtabliſhment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over-run by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were ſtill occupied by Henry [f].

June 21.

The progreſs of the Imperialiſts, diſquiets the French King.

THE loſs of theſe towns, together with ſo many perſons of diſtinction, either killed or taken by the enemy, was no inconſiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very ſenſibly; but he was ſtill more mortified at the Emperor's having aſſumed his wonted ſuperiority in the field ſo ſoon after the blow at Metz, which the French had repreſented as fatal to his power. He was

[e] Sleid. 587. Thuan. 409. Struv. Corp. hiſt. Germ.
[f] Thuan. 411 Haræi Annales Brabant, 669.

aſhamed,

1553.

aſhamed, too, of his own remiſſneſs and exceſſive ſecurity at the opening of the campaign; and, in order to repair that error, he aſſembled a numerous army, and led it into the Low-Countries.

ROUZED at the approach of ſuch a formidable enemy, Charles left Bruſſels, where he had been ſhut up ſo cloſely during ſeven months, that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and though he was ſo much debilitated by the gout that he could ſcarce bear the motion of a litter, he haſtened to join his army. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards theſe mighty and exaſperated rivals, between whom a deciſive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impoſſible for the French to undertake any ſiege, they retired without having performed any thing ſuitable to the great preparations which they had made [g].

The Imperialiſts unſucceſsful in Italy,

THE Imperial arms did not make the ſame progreſs in Italy. The narrowneſs of the Emperor's finances ſeldom allowed him to act with vigour in two different places at the ſame time; and having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to make a great effort in the Low-Countries, his operations on the other ſide of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Coſmo di Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Siena, endeavoured to become maſter of that city. But inſtead of reducing the Sieneſe, the Imperialiſts were obliged to retire abruptly in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, which threatned the coaſt of Naples; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the iſland of Corſica, ſubject at that time, to the Genoeſe [h].

and in Hungary.

THE affairs of the houſe of Auſtria declined no leſs in Hungary during the courſe of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Tranſylvania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants; and their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs greatly diſguſted all ranks of men, and alienated them

[g] Haræus 672. Thuan. 414.

[h] Thuan. 417.

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from their new ſovereign, who, inſtead of protecting, plundered his ſubjects. Their indignation at this, added to their deſire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought ſo much upon a turbulent nobility, impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people, prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture, their late Queen Iſabella, together with her ſon, appeared in Tranſylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the ſolitude and inactivity of a private life, and repenting quickly of the ceſſion which ſhe had made of the crown, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, ſhe left the place of her retreat, hoping that the diſſatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Auſtrian government, would prompt them to recognize once more her ſon's right to the crown. Some noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favour. The Baſhaw of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, eſpouſed his cauſe in oppoſition to Ferdinand; the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, inſtead of advancing againſt the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; ſo that Caſtaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Tranſylvania to Iſabella and the Turks, and to place himſelf at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might reſtrain them from plundering the Auſtrian territories, through which they paſſed [i].

Ferdinand obliged to abandon Tranſylvania.

Ferdinand's attention was turned ſo entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treaſures ſo much exhauſted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover this valuable province, although a favourable opportunity for that purpoſe preſented itſelf, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Perſia, and involved beſides in domeſtick calamities which engroſſed and diſturbed his mind. Solyman, though diſtinguiſhed, by many accompliſhments, from the other Ottoman Princes, had all the paſſions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, ſudden and furious in his anger, and ſuſceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the Eaſt, and often produces the wildeſt and moſt tragical effects. His favourite miſtreſs was a Circaſſian ſlave, of exquiſite beauty, who bore him a ſon called Muſtapha, whom, both on account of his birth-right and merit, he deſtined to be the heir of his

Solyman's domeſtick diſtreſſes.

The tragical hiſtory of his Son Muſtapha.

[i] Thuan. 430.

crown.

crown. Roxalana, a Ruſſian captive, ſoon ſupplanted the Circaſſian, and gained the Sultan's heart. Having the addreſs to retain the conqueſt which ſhe had made, ſhe kept poſſeſſion of his love without any rival for many years, during which ſhe brought him ſeveral ſons and one daughter. All the happineſs, however, which ſhe derived from the unbounded ſway that ſhe had acquired over a monarch, whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Muſtapha's acceſſion to the throne, and the certain death of her ſons, who ſhe foreſaw would be immediately ſacrificed, according to the barbarous jealouſy of Turkiſh policy, to the ſafety of the new Emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, ſhe came gradually to view Muſtapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a ſtep-mother's ill-will. This prompted her to wiſh his deſtruction, in order to ſecure for one of her own ſons the throne which was deſtined for him. Nor did ſhe want either ambition to attempt ſuch a high enterprize, or the arts requiſite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the Sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Ruſtan the Grand Viſier, ſhe diſcloſed her ſcheme to that crafty miniſter, who, perceiving that it was his own intereſt to co-operate with her, readily promiſed his aſſiſtance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line, to which he was now ſo nearly allied. Book XI. 1553.

As ſoon as Roxalana had concerted her meaſures with this able confident, ſhe began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was ſuperſtitiouſly attached, and propoſed to found and endow a royal Moſque, a work of great expence, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the higheſt degree. The Mufti whom ſhe conſulted approved much of her pious intention; but, having been gained and inſtructed by Ruſtan, told her that ſhe being a ſlave could derive no benefit herſelf from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the maſter whoſe property ſhe was. Upon this ſhe ſeemed to be overwhelmed with ſorrow, and to ſink into the deepeſt melancholy, as if ſhe had been diſguſted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was abſent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cauſe from which it proceeded, diſcovered all the ſolicitude of a lover to re-

Book XI. move it, and by a writing under his hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained this point, proceeded to build the Moſque, and re-aſſumed her uſual chearfulneſs and gaiety of ſpirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Conſtantinople, ſent an eunuch, according to the cuſtom of the ſeraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, ſhe, ſeemingly with deep regret, but in the moſt peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring that what had been an honour to her while a ſlave, became a crime, as ſhe was now a free woman, and that ſhe would not involve either the Sultan or herſelf in the guilt that muſt be contracted by ſuch an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whoſe paſſion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave riſe to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourſe immediately to the Mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's ſcruples were well founded, but added, artfully, in words which Ruſtan had taught him to uſe, that it was in the Sultan's power to remove theſe difficulties, by eſpouſing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and ſolemnly married her according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though, by doing ſo, he diſregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the Sultans ſince Bajazet I. to conſider as inviolable. From his time, none of the Turkiſh monarchs had married, becauſe, when he was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abuſed with barbarous inſolence by the Tartars. That no ſimilar calamity might ſubject the Ottoman family to the like diſgrace, the Sultans admitted none to their bed but ſlaves, whoſe diſhonour could not bring any ſuch ſtain upon their houſe.

1553.

But the more uncommon the ſtep was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which ſhe had acquired over the Sultan's heart; and emboldened her to proſecute, with greater hope of ſucceſs, the ſcheme that ſhe had formed in order to deſtroy Muſtapha. This young Prince having been intruſted by his father, according to the practice of the Sultans in that age, with the government of ſeveral different provinces, was at that time inveſted with the adminiſtration in Diarbequir, the ancient Meſopotamia, which Solyman had wreſted from the Perſians, and added to his empire. In all theſe different

ferent commands, Muſtapha had conducted himſelf with ſuch cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the ſame time, he governed with ſo much moderation as well as juſtice, and diſplayed ſuch valour and generoſity as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the ſoldiery. Book XI. 1553.

THERE was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; ſhe turned his virtues againſt him, and made uſe of theſe as engines for his deſtruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's preſence, the ſplendid qualities of his ſon; ſhe celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praiſe. As ſoon as ſhe perceived that the Sultan heard theſe encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneaſineſs; that ſuſpicion of his ſon began to mingle itſelf with his former eſteem of him; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealouſy and fear, ſhe introduced, as by accident, ſome diſcourſe concerning the rebellion of his father Selim againſt Bajazet his grandfather; ſhe took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Muſtapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Perſian Sophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By theſe arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderneſs was entirely extinguiſhed, and ſuch paſſions were kindled in his breaſt, as gave all Roxalana's malignant ſuggeſtions the colour not only of probability but truth. A deep-rooted hatred ſucceeded, now, to his ſuſpicions and fear of Muſtapha. He appointed ſpies to obſerve and report all his words and actions; he watched and ſtood on his guard againſt him as his moſt dangerous enemy.

HAVING thus alienated the Sultan's heart from Muſtapha, Roxalana ventured upon another ſtep, and entreated Solyman to allow her own ſons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that, by gaining acceſs to their father, they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, inſinuate themſelves into that place in his affections, which Muſtapha had formerly held; and, though what ſhe demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her requeſt. To all theſe female intrigues Ruſtan added an artifice ſtill more ſubtle, which compleated the Sultan's deluſion, and heightened his jealouſy and fear.

Book XI. 1553. He wrote to the Baſhaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, inſtructing them to ſend him regular intelligence of Muſtapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing, in appearance, from his zeal for their intereſt, that nothing would be more acceptable to the Sultan, than to receive favourable accounts of a ſon, whom he deſtined to ſuſtain the glory of the Ottoman name. The Baſhaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their ſovereign at ſuch an eaſy price, filled their letters with ſtudied but fatal panegyricks of Muſtapha, repreſenting him as a Prince worthy to ſucceed ſuch an illuſtrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal his fame. Theſe letters were induſtriouſly ſhewn to Solyman, at the ſeaſons when it was known that they would make the deepeſt impreſſion. Every expreſſion in recommendation of his ſon wounded him to the heart; he ſuſpected his principal officers of being ready to favour the moſt deſperate attempts of a Prince whom they were ſo fond to praiſe; and fancying that he ſaw them already aſſaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to ſecure his own ſafety by his ſon's death.

For this purpoſe, though under pretence of renewing the war againſt Perſia, he ordered Ruſtan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a ſon whoſe life he deemed inconſiſtent with his own ſafety. But that crafty miniſter did not chooſe to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As ſoon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman, that the danger was ſo imminent as called for his immediate preſence; that the camp was full of Muſtapha's emiſſaries; that many of the ſoldiers were corrupted, that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he diſcovered a negotiation which had been carried on with the Sophi of Perſia, in order to marry Muſtapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt both his talents and his authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of ſuch an arduous conjuncture, that the Sultan alone had ſagacity to diſcern what reſolution ſhould be taken in thoſe circumſtances, and power to carry that reſolution into execution.

THIS charge of courting the friendſhip of the Sophi, Roxalana and Ruſtan had reſerved as the laſt and moſt envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Perſians, and threw him into the wildeſt tranſports of rage. He ſet out inſtantly for Syria, and haſtened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As ſoon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted meaſures with Ruſtan, he ſent a Chiaus or meſſenger of the court to his ſon, requiring him to repair immediately to his preſence. Muſtapha, tho' no ſtranger to his ſtep-mother's machinations, or to Ruſtan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his innocence, and hoping to diſcredit the accuſations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the meſſenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the Sultan's tent. As he entered it, he obſerved nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the ſame order and ſilence which always reign in the Sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, ſeveral mutes appeared, at the ſight of whom Muſtapha, knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes ruſhed forward to ſeize him, he reſiſted and ſtruggled, demanding with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſee the Sultan; and deſpair, together with the hope of finding protection from the ſoldiers, if he could eſcape out of the tent, animated him with ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that, for ſome time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his ſon's cries, as well as of the noiſe which the ſtruggle occaſioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and ſtruck with terror at the thought of Muſtapha's eſcaping, he drew aſide the curtain which divided the tent, and thruſting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and with wild and threatening geſtures ſeemed to chide them for ſloth and timidity. At ſight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Muſtapha's ſtrength failed, and his courage forſook him; the mutes faſtened the bow-ſtring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

THE dead body was expoſed before the Sultan's tent. The ſoldiers gathered round it, and contemplating that mournful object with aſtoniſhment, and ſorrow, and indignation,

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dignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke into the wildeſt exceſſes of rage. After giving vent to the firſt expreſſions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and ſhutting themſelves up, bewailed in ſecret the cruel fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who taſted food or even water during the remainder of that day. Next morning, the ſame ſolitude and ſilence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that ſome dreadful ſtorm would follow this ſullen calm, in oder to appeaſe the enraged ſoldiers, deprived Ruſtan of the ſeals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raiſed Achmet, a gallant officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of Viſier. This change, however, was made in concert with Ruſtan himſelf; that crafty miniſter ſuggeſting it as the only expedient which could ſave himſelf or his maſter. But within a few months, when the reſentment of the ſoldiers began to ſubſide, and the name of Muſtapha to be forgotten, Achmet was ſtrangled by the Sultan's command, and Ruſtan re-inſtated in the office of Viſier. Together with his former power, he reaſſumed the plan for exterminating the race of Muſtapha which he had concerted with Roxalana; and, as they were afraid that an only ſon whom Muſtapha had left, might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and, by employing the ſame arts againſt him which they had practiſed againſt his father, they inſpired Solyman with the ſame fears, and prevailed on him to iſſue orders for putting to death that young innocent Prince. Theſe orders were executed, with barbarous zeal, by an eunuch, who was diſpatched to Burſa, the place were the Prince reſided; and no rival was left to diſpute the Ottoman throne with the ſons of Roxalana [k].

Charles projects a marriage between his ſon and Mary of England.

SUCH a tragical ſcene, productive of ſo deep diſtreſs, ſeldom occurs but in the hiſtory of the great monarchies of the Eaſt, where the force of the climate works up and ſublimes all the paſſions of the human mind into the greateſt fury, and the abſolute power of ſovereigns enables them to act with uncontrolled violence; but while it paſſed in the court of Solyman and engaged his whole attention, Charles was purſuing with the utmoſt ardour a new

[k] Augerii Giſlenii Buſbequii Legationis Turcicæ Epiſtolæ iv. Franc. 1615. p. 37. Thuan. lib. 12. p. 432. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 457. Mauroceni hiſtor. Veneta, lib. vii. p. 69.

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new ſcheme for aggrandizing his family. About this time, Edward the ſixth of England, after a ſhort reign, in which he diſplayed ſuch virtues as filled his ſubjects with ſanguine hopes of being happy under his government, and made them bear with patience all that they ſuffered from the weakneſs, the diſſentions, and the ambition of the miniſters who aſſumed the adminiſtration during his minority, was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper which threatened his life. The Emperor no ſooner received an account of this, than his ambition, always attentive to ſeize every opportunity of acquiring an increaſe of power or of territories to his ſon, ſuggeſted the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms, by the marriage of Philip with the Princeſs Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehenſive, however, that his ſon, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a Princeſs in her thirty-eighth year, and eleven years older than himſelf [l]; Charles determined, notwithſtanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himſelf as a huſband to his couſin.

To which Philip gives his conſent.

But though Mary was ſo far advanced in years, and deſtitute of every charm, either of perſon or of manners, that could win affection, or command eſteem, Philip, without heſitation, gave his conſent to the match propoſed by his father, and was willing, according to the uſual maxim of Princes, to ſacrifice his inclination to his his ambition. In order to inſure ſucceſs, the Emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take ſuch ſteps as as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demiſe, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretenſions of the lady Jane Gray proving as unfortunate, as they were ill founded [m]. Charles ſent immediately a pompous embaſſy to London, to congratulate Mary on her acceſſion to the throne, and to propoſe the alliance with his ſon.

The ſentiments of Mary and of the Engliſh with regard to it.

The Queen, dazzled with the proſpect of marrying the heir of the greateſt Monarch in Europe; fond of uniting more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe had been always warmly attached; and eager to ſecure the powerful aid which ſhe knew would be neceſſary towards carrying on her favourite ſcheme of re-eſtabliſhing the

[l] Pallav. hiſt. Concil. Trid. v. ii. c. 13. p. 150.
[m] Carte's hiſt. of England, iii. 287.

Romiſh

Book XI. 1553. Romiſh religion in England, liſtened in the moſt favourable manner to the propoſal. Among her ſubjects, it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a ſanguinary zeal, which exceeded the meaſure even of Spaniſh bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partizans of the Reformation. The Caſtilian haughtineſs and reſerve were far from being acceptable to the Engliſh, who, having ſeveral times ſeen their throne occupied by thoſe who were born ſubjects, had become accuſtomed to an unceremonious and familiar intercourſe with their ſovereigns. They could not think, without the utmoſt uneaſineſs, of admitting a foreign Prince to that influence in their councils, which the huſband of their Queen would naturally poſſeſs. They dreaded, both from Philip's over-bearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spaniſh monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuſe ideas into the Queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom to aſſiſt her in any attempt againſt them.

The houſe of Commons remonſtrate againſt it.

FULL of theſe apprehenſions, the houſe of Commons, though in that age extremely obſequious to the will of their Monarchs, preſented a warm addreſs againſt the Spaniſh match; many pamphlets were publiſhed, repreſenting the dangerous conſequences of the alliance with Spain, and deſcribing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the moſt odious colours. But Mary, inflexible in all her reſolutions, paid no regard to the remonſtrances of her Commons, or to the ſentiments of the people. The Emperor, having ſecured, by various arts, the miniſters whom ſhe truſted moſt, they approved warmly of the match, and large ſums were remitted by him in order to gain the reſt of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the Pope, immediately upon Mary's acceſſion, had diſpatched as his legate into England, in order to reconcile his native country to the ſee of Rome, was detained by the Emperor's command at Dillinghen, in Germany, leſt by his preſence he ſhould thwart Philip's pretenſions, and employ his intereſt in favour of his kinſman Courtnay Earl of Devonſhire, whom the Engliſh ardently wiſhed their ſovereign to chooſe for a huſband [n].

[n] Cart. iii. 288.

MEANWHILE,

1553. The marriage treaty concluded.

MEANWHILE, the negotiation was carried forward with the greateſt rapidity, the Emperor agreeing, without heſitation, to every article in favour of England which Mary's miniſters either repreſented as neceſſary to ſoothe the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was ſuggeſted by their own fears and jealouſy of a foreign maſter. The chief articles were, that Philip, during his marriage with the Queen, ſhould bear the title of King of England, but the entire adminiſtration of affairs, as well as the ſole diſpoſal of all revenues, offices, and benefices ſhould remain with the Queen; that the heirs of the marriage ſhould, together with the crown of England, inherit the dutchy of Burgundy and the Low-Countries; that if Prince Charles, Philip's only ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die without iſſue, his children by the Queen, whether male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain and all the Emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the conſummation of the marriage, Philip ſhould ſwear ſolemnly that he would retain no domeſtick who was not a ſubject of the Queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the Engliſh; that he would make no alteration in the conſtitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the Queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the Queen ſhould die before him without iſſue, he ſhould leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of adminiſtration whatever; that England ſhould not, in conſequence of this marriage, be engaged in any war ſubſiſting between France and Spain; and that the alliance between France and England ſhould remain in full force [o]

1554. Jan. 12.

Diſcontent and apprehenſions of the Engliſh.

BUT this treaty, though both the Emperor and Mary's miniſters employed their utmoſt addreſs in framing it ſo as to pleaſe the Engliſh, was far from quieting their fears and jealouſies. They ſaw that words and promiſes were a feeble ſecurity againſt the encroachments of an ambitious Prince, who, as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of the power and advantages which the Queen's huſband muſt neceſſarily enjoy, could eaſily evade any of the articles that either limited his authority, or obſtructed his ſchemes. They were convinced that, the more favourable the conditions of the preſent treaty were to England, the more

[o] Rymer's Fœd. vol. xv. 377, 393. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 498.

Philip

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Philip would be tempted to violate them; and they dreaded that England, like Naples, Milan, and the other countries annexed to the Spaniſh crown, would ſoon feel the intolerable weight of its oppreſſive domination, and be conſtrained, as theſe had been, to waſte its wealth and vigour in wars wherein it had no intereſt, and from which it could derive no advantage. Theſe ſentiments prevailed ſo generally, that every part of the kingdom was filled with diſcontent at the match, and with indignation againſt the adviſers of it. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of ſome note, and of good intentions towards the publick, took advantage of this, and rouſed the inhabitants of Kent to arms, in order to ſave their country from a foreign yoke. Such numbers reſorted in a ſhort time to his ſtandard; he marched to London with ſuch rapidity; and the Queen was ſo utterly unprovided for defence, that the aſpect of affairs was extremely threatening, and if any nobleman of diſtinction had joined the malcontents, or had Wyat poſſeſſed talents equal, in any degree, to the boldneſs of his enterprize, the inſurrection muſt have proved fatal to Mary's power. But all his meaſures were concerted with ſo little prudence, and executed with ſuch irreſolution, that many of his followers forſook him; the reſt were diſperſed by an handful of men; and he himſelf was taken priſoner, without having made any effort worthy of the cauſe that he had undertaken, or ſuitable to the ardour with which he engaged in it. He ſuffered the puniſhment due to his raſhneſs and rebellion. The Queen's authority was confirmed and increaſed by her ſucceſs in defeating this inconſiderate attempt to abridge it. The lady Jane Gray, whoſe title the ambition of her relations had ſet up in oppoſition to the Queen's, was, notwithſtanding her youth and innocence, brought to the ſcaffold. The lady Elizabeth, the Queen's ſiſter, was obſerved with the moſt jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the parliament.

Wyat's inſurrection.

The marriage celebrated.

PHILIP landed in England, with a magnificent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great ſolemnity, and though he could not lay aſide his natural ſeverity and pride, or aſſume gracious and popular manners, he endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh nobility by his extraordinary liberality. In caſe that ſhould fail of acquiring him ſuch influence in the government of the kingdom,

kingdom, as he aimed at obtaining, the Emperor kept a body of twelve thouſand men on the coaſt of Flanders, in readineſs to embark for England, and to ſupport him in all his enterprizes.

Mary's meaſures to overturn the Proteſtant religion in England.

EMBOLDENED by all theſe favourable circumſtances, Mary purſued the ſcheme of extirpating the Proteſtant religion out of her dominions, with the moſt precipitant zeal. The laws of Edward the ſixth in favour of the Reformation were repealed; the Proteſtant clergy ejected; all the forms and rites of the Popiſh worſhip were re-eſtabliſhed; the nation was ſolemnly abſolved from the guilt which it had contracted during the period of its apoſtacy, and was publickly reconciled to the church of Rome, by cardinal Pole, who, immediately after the Queen's marriage, was permitted to continue his journey to England, and to exerciſe his legantine functions with the moſt ample power. Not ſatisfied with having overturned the Proteſtant church, and having eſtabliſhed her own ſyſtem on its ruins, Mary inſiſted that all her ſubjects ſhould conform to the ſame mode of worſhip which ſhe preferred; ſhould profeſs their faith in the ſame creed which ſhe had approved; and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers, altogether unknown in the Engliſh conſtitution, were veſted in certain perſons appointed to take cognizance of hereſy, and they proceeded to exerciſe them with more than inquiſitorial ſeverity. The proſpect of danger, however, did not intimidate the teachers of the Proteſtant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmoſt conſequence to the happineſs of mankind. They boldly avowed their ſentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the church of Rome reſerves for its enemies. This ſhocking puniſhment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancour of falſe zeal alone can inſpire. The Engliſh, who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildneſs of their publick executions, beheld, with aſtoniſhment and horror, perſons who had filled the moſt reſpectable ſtations in their church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety and their literature, condemned to endure torments, to which even the moſt atrocious criminals were not ſubjected.

THIS

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THIS extreme rigour did not accompliſh the end at which Mary aimed. The patience and fortitude with which theſe martyrs for the Reformation ſubmitted to their ſuffering, the heroick contempt of death expreſſed by perſons of every rank, and age, and ſex, confirmed many more in the Proteſtant faith, than the threats of their enraged perſecutors could frighten into apoſtacy. The buſineſs of ſuch as were intruſted with trying of hereticks grew upon them, and appeared to be as endleſs as it was odious. The Queen's ableſt miniſters became ſenſible how impolitick as well as dangerous it was to irritate the people, by the frequent ſpectacle of public executions, which they deteſted both as unjuſt and cruel. Even Philip was ſo thoroughly convinced of her having run to an exceſs of rigour, that, on this occaſion, he aſſumed a part to which he was little accuſtomed, becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity [p].

1554. The obſtacles which ſhe had to ſurmount.

BUT, notwithſtanding this attempt to ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh, they diſcovered a conſtant jealouſy and diſtruſt of all his intentions; and when ſome members, who had been gained by the court, ventured to move in the Houſe af Commons that the nation ought to aſſiſt the Emperor, the Queen's father-in-law, in his war againſt France, the propoſal was rejected with general diſſatisfaction. A motion which was made, that the parliament ſhould give its conſent that Philip might be publickly crowned as the Queen's huſband, met with ſuch a cold reception, that it was inſtantly withdrawn [q].

The Engliſh jealous of Philip.

MEANWHILE, the King of France had obſerved the progreſs of the Emperor's negotiation in England with much uneaſineſs. The great acceſſion of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his ſon with the Queen of ſuch a powerful kingdom was obvious and formidable. He eaſily foreſaw that the Engliſh, notwithſtanding all their fears and precautions, would be ſoon drawn in to take part in the quarrels on the continent, and be compelled to act in ſubſerviency to the Emperor's ambitious ſchemes. For this reaſon, Henry had given it in charge to his ambaſſador

The French King alarmed at the match between Philip and Mary.

[p] Godwin's Annals of Q. Mary ap. Kennett. v. ii. p. 329. Burnet's hiſt. of Refor. ii. 298, 305.

[q] Carte's hiſt. of England, iii, 314.

at

at the court of London, to employ all his addreſs in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any Prince of the blood in France, whom he could propoſe to the Queen as a huſband, he inſtructed him to co-operate with ſuch of the Engliſh as wiſhed their ſovereign to marry one of her own ſubjects. But the Queen's ardour and precipitation, in cloſing with the firſt overtures in favour of Philip, having rendered all his endeavours ineffectual, Henry was ſo far from thinking it prudent to give any aid to the Engliſh malecontents, though earneſtly ſolicited by Wyat and their other leaders, who tempted him to take them under his protection, by offers of great advantage to France, that he commanded his ambaſſador to congratulate the Queen in the warmeſt terms upon the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection.

His preparations for a vigorous campaign.

BUT, notwithſtanding theſe external profeſſions, he dreaded ſo much the conſequence of this alliance, which more than compenſated for all that the Emperor had loſt in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations both in the Low-Countries, and in Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could ſurmount the averſion of her ſubjects to a war on the continent, and prevail on them to aſſiſt the Emperor either with money or troops. For this purpoſe, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to have a numerous army early aſſembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and while one part of it laid waſte the open country of Artois, the main body, under the Conſtable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainaut by the foreſt of Ardennes.

The progreſs of his arms.

THE campaign was opened with the ſiege of Mariemburgh, a town which the Queen of Hungary, the governeſs of the Low-Countries, had fortified at great expence; but, being deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, it ſurrendered in ſix days. Henry, elated with this ſucceſs, put himſelf at the head of his army, and inveſting Bouvines, took it by aſſault, after a ſhort reſiſtance. With equal facility he became maſter of Dinant; and then, turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The vaſt ſums which the Emperor had remitted into England, had ſo exhauſted his treaſury, as to render his preparations, at this juncture, ſlower and more dilatory than

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The Emperor little able to obſtruct it.

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uſual. He had no body of troops to make head againſt the French at their firſt entrance into his territories; and tho' he drew together all the forces in the country, in the utmoſt hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number. The Prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a diſtance, and by chooſing his own poſts with ſuch ſkill as put it out of their power either to form any ſiege of conſequence or to attack him, he obliged them to fall back for want of ſubſiſtence towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through which they marched with a cruelty and licenſe more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch.

The French inveſt Renti.

BUT Henry, that he might not diſmiſs his army, without attempting ſome conqueſt adequate to the vaſt preparations, as well as ſanguine hopes with which he had opened the campaign, inveſted Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as, by its ſituation on the confines of Artois and Boulonnais, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which had made incurſions into the latter. The town, which was ſtrongly fortified and provided with a numerous garriſon, made a gallant defence; but being warmly preſſed by a powerful army, it muſt ſoon have yielded. The Emperor, who at that time enjoyed a ſhort interval of eaſe from the gout, was ſo ſolicitous to ſave it, that, although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of his army, which having received ſeveral reinforcements was now ſtrong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide by a battle, what ſhould be the fate of Renti, and expected it from the Emperor's arrival in the camp; but Charles avoided it with great induſtry, and as he had nothing in view but to ſave the town, he hoped to accompliſh that, without expoſing himſelf to the conſequences of ſuch a dangerous and doubtful event.

An action between the two armies. Aug. 13.

NOTWITHSTANDING all his precautions, a diſpute, about a poſt which both armies endeavoured to ſeize, brought on an engagement which proved almoſt general. The Duke of Guiſe, who commanded the left wing

wing of the French which ſtood the brunt of the combat, diſplayed valour and conduct worthy of the defender of Metz; the Imperialiſts, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, were repulſed; the French remained maſters of the poſt in diſpute; and if the Conſtable, either from his natural caution and ſlowneſs, or from unwillingneſs to ſupport a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to ſecond the impreſſion which Guiſe had made, the rout of the enemy muſt have been complete. The Emperor, notwithſtanding the loſs which he had ſuſtained, continued in the ſame camp; and the French, being ſtraitened for proviſions, and finding it impoſſible to carry on the ſiege in the face of an hoſtile army, quitted their intrenchments. They retired openly, courting the enemy to approach, rather than ſhunning an engagement.

The Imperialiſts invade Picardy.

BUT Charles, having gained his end, ſuffered them to march off unmoleſted. As ſoon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garriſons into the frontier towns, and diſmiſſed the reſt of the army. This encouraged the Imperialiſts to puſh forward with a conſiderable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waſte the country with fire and ſword, they endeavoured to revenge themſelves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois [m]. But as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war.

Affairs of Italy.

MEANWHILE, the arms of France were ſtill more unſucceſsful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Siena occaſioned much uneaſineſs to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious and enterprizing of all the Italian Princes. He dreaded the neighbourhood of a powerful people, to whom all who favoured the ancient republican government in Florence would have recourſe, as to their natural protector, againſt that abſolute authority which the Emperor had enabled him to uſurp; he knew how odious he was to the French, on account of his attachment to the Imperial party; and he foreſaw that if they were permitted to gather ſtrength in Siena, Tuſcany would ſoon feel the effects of their reſentment. For theſe reaſons, he wiſhed with the utmoſt ſolicitude for

Coſmo di Medici's ſchemes with regard to Siena.

[m] Thuan. 460, &c. Haræi Ann. Brab. 674.

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the expulſion of the French out of the Sieneſe, before they had time to eſtabliſh themſelves thoroughly in the country, or to receive ſuch reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the Emperor's buſineſs, who was called by his intereſt as well as honour to diſlodge theſe formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Coſmo laboured to throw the whole burden of the enterprize on him; and on that account had given no aſſiſtance, during the former campaign, but by advancing ſome ſmall ſums of money towards payment of the Imperial troops.

He negotiates with the Emperor.

BUT as the defence of the Netherlands engroſſed all the Emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treaſury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Coſmo plainly perceived that, if he himſelf did not take part openly in the war, and act with vigour, the French would ſcarce meet any annoyance. As his ſituation rendered this reſolution neceſſary and unavoidable, his next care was to execute it in ſuch a manner, that he might derive from it ſome other advantage, beſide that of driving the French out of his neighbourhood. With this view, he diſpatched an envoy to Charles, and offered to declare war againſt France, and to reduce Siena at his own charges, on condition that he ſhould be repaid whatever he ſhould expend in the enterprize, and be permitted to retain all his conqueſts until his demands were fully ſatisfied. Charles, to whom, at this juncture, the war againſt Siena was an intolerable burden, and who had neither expedient nor reſource that could enable him to carry it on with proper vigour, cloſed gladly with this overture; and Coſmo, well acquainted with the low ſtate of the Imperial finances, flattered himſelf that the Emperor, finding it impoſſible to reimburſe him, would ſuffer him to keep quiet poſſeſſion of whatever places he ſhould conquer [n].

Enters into war with France.

FULL of theſe hopes, he made great preparations for war, and as the French King had turned the ſtrength of his arms againſt the Netherlands, he did not deſpair of aſſembling ſuch a body of men, as would prove more than a ſufficient match for any force which he could bring in-

[n] Adriani Iſtoria de ſuoi tempi, vol. i. p. 662.

to

to the field in Italy. He endeavoured to obtain aſſiſtance from the Pope, or at leaſt to ſecure his remaining neutral, by giving one of his daughters to that Pontiff's nephew. He attempted to detach the Duke of Orſini, whoſe family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by beſtowing on him another of his daughters; and, what was of greater conſequence than either of theſe, he engaged John James Medicino, Marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army [o]. This officer, from a very low condition in life, had raiſed himſelf, through all the ranks of ſervice, to high command, and had diſplayed talents and acquired reputation in war, which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greateſt generals of that martial age. Having attained a ſtation of eminence ſo diſproportionate to his birth, he laboured with a fond ſolicitude to conceal his original obſcurity, by giving out that he was deſcended of the family of Medici, to which honour the caſual reſemblance of his name was his only pretenſion. Coſmo, happy that he could gratify him at ſuch an eaſy rate, flattered his vanity in this point, acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to aſſume the arms of his family: Medicino, eager to ſerve the head of that family, of which he now conſidered himſelf as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and aſſiduity to raiſe troops; and as, during his long ſervice, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of thoſe mercenary bands, which formed the ſtrength of Italian armies, he engaged the moſt eminent of them to follow Coſmo's ſtandard.

Gives the command of his army to Medicino.

To oppoſe this able general, and the formidable army which he had aſſembled, the King of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had long reſided in France, as an exile, and who had riſen by his merit to high reputation and command in the army. He was the ſon of Philip Strozzi, who, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, had concurred with ſuch ardour in the attempt to expel the family of Medici out of Florence, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient republican form of government; and who had periſhed in the undertaking. The ſon inherited the implacable averſion to the Medici, as well as the ſame enthuſiaſtick zeal for

Peter Strozzi intruſted with the command of the French army in Italy.

[o] Adriani Iſtoria, vol. i. p. 663.

Book XI. the liberty of Florence, which had animated his father, whoſe death he was impatient to revenge. Henry flat-
1554. tered himſelf that his army would make rapid progreſs under a general, whoſe zeal to promote his intereſt was rouſed and ſeconded by ſuch powerful paſſions; eſpecially as he had allotted him, for the ſcene of action, his native country, in which he had many powerful partizans ready to facilitate all his operations.

The imprudence of this choice.

But how ſpecious ſoever the motives might appear which induced Henry to make this choice, it proved fatal to the intereſts of France in Italy. Coſmo, as ſoon as he heard that the mortal enemy of his family was appointed to take the command in Tuſcany, concluded that the King of France aimed at ſomething more than the protection of the Sianeſe, and ſaw the neceſſity of making extraordinary efforts, not merely to reduce Siena, but to ſave himſelf from deſtruction [p]. At the ſame time, the Cardinal of Ferrara, who had the entire direction of the French affairs in Italy, conſidered Strozzi as a formidable rival in power, and, in order to prevent him from acquiring any increaſe of authority from ſucceſs, he was extremely remiſs in ſupplying him either with money to pay his troops, or with proviſions to ſupport them. Strozzi himſelf, blinded by his reſentment againſt the Medici, puſhed on his operations with the impetuoſity of revenge, rather than with the caution and prudence becoming a great general.

The battle of Marciano.

At firſt, however, he attacked ſeveral towns in the territories of Florence, with ſuch vigour, as obliged Medicino, in order to check his progreſs, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Siena, which he had inveſted before Strozzi's arrival in Italy. As Coſmo ſuſtained the whole burden of military operations, the expence of which muſt have exhauſted his revenues, neither the viceroy of Naples nor governor of Milan were in condition to afford him any aid; and as the troops which Medicino had left in the camp before Siena could attempt nothing againſt it during his abſence; it was Strozzi's buſineſs to have protracted the war, and to have transferred the ſeat of it into the territories of Florence; but the hope of ruining the enemy with one deciſive blow, pre-

[p] Pecci Memorie di Siena, vol. iv. p. 103, &c.

cipitated

cipitated him into a general engagement not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled, either thro' the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, without making any reſiſtance, the infantry remained expoſed to the attacks of all Medicino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's preſence and example, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, and manifeſted an admirable preſence of mind, as well as extraordinary valour, they ſtood their ground with great firmneſs, and repulſed ſuch of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But theſe gallant troops, being ſurrounded at laſt on every ſide, and torn in pieces by a battery of cannon which Medicino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general rout enſued. Strozzi, faint with the loſs of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal conſequences of his own raſhneſs, found the utmoſt difficulty in making his eſcape with a handful of men [q].

1554. Aug. 3. In which the French are defeated.

MEDICINO returned immediately to the ſiege of Siena with his victorious troops, and as Strozzi could not, after the utmoſt efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leiſure to carry on his approaches againſt the town without moleſtation. But the Sieneſe, inſtead of ſinking into deſpair upon this cruel diſappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity, with that undaunted fortitude, which the love of liberty alone can inſpire. This generous reſolution was warmly ſeconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garriſon in the town. The active and enterprizing courage which he had diſplayed on many occaſions had procured him this command; and as he had ambition which aſpired at the higheſt military dignities, without any pretenſions to attain them but what he could derive from merit, he determined to diſtinguiſh his defence of Siena by extraordinary efforts of valour and perſeverance. For this purpoſe, he, with unwearied induſtry, repaired and ſtrengthened the fortifications; he trained the citizens to the uſe of arms, and accuſtomed

Medicino beſieges Siena, which is gallantly defended by the citizens and Monluc.

[q] Pecci Memorie della Siena, vol. iv. p. 157.

Book XI. 1554. them to go thro' the fatigues and dangers of ſervice in common with the ſoldiers; and as the enemy were extremely ſtrict in guarding all the avenues to the city, he huſbanded the proviſions in the magazines with the moſt parſimonious œconomy, and prevailed on the ſoldiers, as well as the citizens, to reſtrict themſelves to a very moderate daily allowance for their ſubſiſtence. Medicino, though his army was not numerous enough to ſtorm the town by open force, ventured twice to aſſault it by ſurprize, but he was received each time with ſo much ſpirit, and repulſed with ſuch loſs, as diſcouraged him from repeating the attempt, and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

Medicino converts the ſiege into a blockade.

WITH this view, he fortified his own camp with great care, occupied all the poſts of ſtrength round the place, and having entirely cut off the beſieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until neceſſity ſhould compel them to open their gates. But the enthuſiaſtick zeal of the citizens for liberty, made them deſpiſe the inconveniencies occaſioned by ſcarcity of proviſions, and even ſupported them long under all the miſeries of famine; Monluc, by his example and exhortations, taught his ſoldiers to vie with them in patience and abſtinence; and it was not until they had withſtood a ſiege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horſes, dogs, and other animals in the place, and 1555. were reduced almoſt to their laſt morſel of bread, that they propoſed a capitulation. Even then, they demanded honourable terms; and as Coſmo, though no ſtranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that deſpair might prompt them to venture upon ſome wild enterprize, he immediately granted them conditions more favourable than they could have expected.

April 22. The town obliged by famine to capitulate.

THE capitulation was made in the Emperor's name, who engaged to take the republick of Siena under the protection of the Empire; he promiſed to maintain the ancient liberties of the city, to allow the magiſtrates the full exerciſe of their former authority, to ſecure the citizens in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their privileges and property; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had born arms againſt him; he reſerved to himſelf the right of placing a garriſon in the town, but engaged not to rebuild the citadel without the conſent of the citizens. Monluc and his French garriſon were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

MEDICINO

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MEDICINO obſerved the articles of capitulation, ſo far as depended on him with great exactneſs. No violence or inſult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garriſon was received with all the reſpect due to its ſpirit and bravery. But many of the citizens ſuſpecting from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained ſuch favourable conditions, that the Emperor, as well as Coſmo, would take the firſt opportunity of violating them, and diſdaining to poſſeſs a precarious liberty, which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monté-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other ſmall towns in the territory of the republic. They eſtabliſhed in Monté-Alcino the ſame model of government to which they had been accuſtomed at Siena, and appointing magiſtrates with the ſame titles and juriſdiction, ſolaced themſelves with this image of their ancient liberty.

Many of the Sieneſe retire to Monté-Alcino, and eſtabliſh a free government there.

THE fears of the Sieneſe concerning the fate of their country were not imaginary, or their ſuſpicion of the Emperor and Coſmo ill-founded; for no ſooner had the Imperial troops taken poſſeſſion of the town, than Coſmo, without regarding the articles of capitulation, not only diſplaced the magiſtrates who were in office, and nominated new ones devoted to his intereſt, but commanded all the citizens to deliver up their arms to perſons whom he appointed to receive them. They ſubmitted to the former from neceſſity, though with all the reluctance and regret which men accuſtomed to liberty feel in obeying the firſt commands of a maſter. They did not yield the ſame tame obedience to the latter; and many perſons of diſtinction, rather than degrade themſelves, by ſurrendering their arms, from the rank of freemen to the condition of ſlaves, fled to their countrymen at Monté-Alcino, and choſe to endure all the hardſhips, and encounter all the dangers which they had reaſon to expect in that new ſtation, where they had fixed the ſeat of their republick.

Hardſhips to which the citizens of Siena were ſubjected.

COSMO, not reckoning himſelf ſecure while ſuch numbers of implacable and deſperate enemies were ſettled in his neighbourhood, and retained any degree of power, ſolicited Medicino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits, after the many calamities which they had ſuffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the ſiege of Siena, to inveſt

Coſmo attacks thoſe who had retired.

Book XI.

veſt Porto Ercole; and the fortifications being both ſlight and incompleat, the beſieged were ſoon compelled to open their gates. An unexpected order which Medicino received from the Emperor to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented farther operations, and permitted the Sieneſe exiles to reſide for ſome time undiſturbed in Monté-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Siena, were not yet at the end of their ſufferings; for the Emperor, inſtead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his ſon Philip the inveſtiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new maſter, proceeded to ſettle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and ſubjected them to the Spaniſh yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or eſtabliſhed forms of policy [r].

1555. June 13.

Operations in Piedmont.

THE Imperial army in Piedmont had been ſo feeble, for ſome time, and its commanders ſo inactive that the emperor, in order to give vigour to his operations in that quarter, found it neceſſary not only to call off Medicino's troops from Tuſcany, while in the career of conqueſt, but to employ in Piedmont a general of ſuch reputation and abilities, as might counterbalance the great military talents of the Marechal Briſſac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country.

Charles appoints the Duke of Alva generaliſſimo there.

HE pitched on the duke of Alva for that purpoſe; but it was as much the effect of a court intrigue, as of his opinion of the Duke's merit, which led him to this choice. Alva had long attended Philip with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and had endeavoured to work himſelf into his confidence by all the inſinuating arts of which his haughty and inflexible nature was capable. As he nearly reſembled that Prince in many features of his character, he began to gain much of his good-will. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favourite, who dreaded the progreſs which this formidable rival made in his maſter's affections, had the addreſs to prevail with the Emperor to name Alva to this command. The duke, though ſenſible that he owed this diſtinction to the malicious arts of an enemy, who had no other aim than to remove him at a diſtance from court,

[r] Sleid. 617. Thuan. lib. xv. 526, 537. Joan. Camerarii annot. rer. præcipuarum ab anno 1550 ad 1561, ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 564. Pecci Memorie dell a Siena, iv. 164, &c.

was

was of ſuch punctilious honour, that he would not decline a command that appeared dangerous and difficult, but, at the ſame time, ſo haughty, that he would not accept of it but on his own terms, inſiſting on being appointed the Emperor's Vicar General in Italy, with the ſupreme military command in all the Imperial and Spaniſh territories in that country. Charles granted all his demands; and he took poſſeſſion of his new dignity with almoſt unlimited authority. Book XI. 1555.

His firſt operations, however, were neither proportioned to his former reputation and the extenſive powers with which he was inveſted, nor did they come up to the Emperor's expectations. Briſſac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the Imperialiſts, was compoſed of choſen troops, which having grown old in ſervice in that country, where every town was fortified, and every caſtle capable of being defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valour, and his own good conduct, Briſſac not only defeated all the attempts of the Imperialiſts, but added new conqueſts to the territories of which he was formerly maſter. Alva, after having boaſted, with his uſual arrogance, that he would drive the French out of Piedmont in a few weeks, was obliged to retire into winter quarters, with the ignominy of being unable to preſerve entire that part of the country of which the Emperor had hitherto kept poſſeſſion [s]. His operations there inconſiderable.

As the operations of this campaign in Piedmont were indeciſive, thoſe in the Netherlands were inconſiderable, neither the Emperor nor King of France being able to bring into the field an army ſtrong enough to undertake any enterprize of moment. But what Charles wanted in force, he endeavoured to ſupply by a bold ſtratagem, the ſucceſs of which would have been equal to that of the moſt vigorous campaign. During the ſiege of Metz, Leonard Father Guardian of a convent of Franciſcans in that city had, by his attachment to the French intereſt, inſinuated himſelf far into the eſteem and favour of the duke of Guiſe. Being a man of an active and intriguing ſpirit, he had been extremely uſeful both in animating the inhabitants to ſuſtain with patience all the hardſhips of the A conſpiracy to betray Metz to the Imperialiſts.

[s] Thuan. lib. xv. 529. Guichenon Hiſt. de Savoye, tom. i. 670.

ſiege,

Book XI. 1555. ſiege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemies deſigns and motions. The merit of theſe important ſervices, together with the warm recommendations of the Duke of Guiſe, ſecured him ſuch high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz, when Guiſe left the town, that he was permitted to converſe or correſpond with whatever perſons he choſe, and nothing that he did created any ſuſpicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers; or from reſentment againſt the French, who had not beſtowed on him ſuch rewards as he thought due to his own merit; or tempted, by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accompliſh any ſcheme with perfect ſecurity; formed a deſign of betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts.

The plan of it. He communicated his intentions to the Queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low-Countries in name of her brother. She approving, without any ſcruple, an act of treachery, from which the Emperor might derive ſuch ſignal advantage, aſſiſted the Father Guardian in concerting the moſt proper plan for enſuring its ſucceſs. They agreed that the Father Guardian ſhould endeavour to gain the monks of his convent to concur in promoting the deſign; that he ſhould introduce into the convent a certain number of choſen ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville ſhould march towards Metz in the night with a conſiderable body of troops, and attempt to ſcale the ramparts; that while the garriſon was employed in reſiſting the aſſailants, the monks ſhould ſet fire to the town in different places; that the ſoldiers who lay concealed ſhould ſally out of the convent, and attack thoſe who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidſt the univerſal terror and confuſion, which events ſo unexpected would occaſion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialiſts might become maſters of the town. As a recompenſe for this ſervice the Father Guardian ſtipulated that he ſhould be appointed biſhop of Metz, and ample rewards were promiſed to ſuch of his monks as ſhould be moſt active in co-operating with him.

Its progreſs. The Father Guardian accompliſhed what he had undertaken to perform with great ſecrecy and diſpatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the proſpect of wealth or honours which he ſet before his monks, he prevailed

vailed on all of them to enter into the conſpiracy. He introduced into the convent, as many ſoldiers as were thought ſufficient, without being ſuſpected. The governor of Thionville, appriſed in due time of the deſign, had aſſembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and the moment approached, which probably would have wreſted from Henry the moſt important of all his conqueſts. Book XI. 1555.

Diſcovered.

BUT happily for France, on the very day that was fixed for ſtriking the blow, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a ſpy whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciſcan friars reſorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was carrying on preparations for ſome military enterprize with great diſpatch, but with a moſt myſterious ſecrecy. This was ſufficient to awaken Vielleville's ſuſpicions. Without communicating theſe to any perſon, he inſtantly viſited the convent of Franciſcans; detected the ſoldiers who were concealed there; and forced them to diſcover as much as they knew concerning the nature of the enterprize. The Father Guardian, who had gone to Thionville that he might put the laſt hand to his machinations, was ſeized at the gate as he returned; and he, in order to ſave himſelf from the rack, revealed all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy.

A body of Imperialiſts defeated.

VIELLEVILLE not ſatisfied with having ſeized the traitors, and having fruſtrated their ſchemes, was ſolicitous to take advantage of the diſcoveries which he had made, ſo as to be revenged on the Imperialiſts. For this purpoſe he marched out with the beſt troops in his garriſon, and placing theſe in ambuſh near the road, by which the Father Guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the Imperialiſts with great fury, as they advanced in perfect ſecurity, without ſuſpecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this ſudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to ſurprize, they made little reſiſtance; and a great part of the troops employed in this ſervice, among which were many perſons of diſtinction, was killed or taken priſoners. Before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

No

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1555. The conſpirators puniſhed.

No reſolution was taken for ſome time concerning the fate of the Father Guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conſpiracy. Regard for the honour of body ſo numerous and reſpectable as the Franciſcans, and unwillingneſs to afford a ſubject of triumph to the enemies of the Romiſh church by their diſgrace, ſeem to have occaſioned this delay. But at length, the neceſſity of inflicting exemplary puniſhment upon them, in order to deter others from venturing to commit the ſame crime, became ſo evident, that orders were iſſued to proceed to their trial. Their guilt was made apparent by the cleareſt evidence; and ſentence of death was paſſed upon the Father Guardian together with twenty monks. On the evening previous to the day fixed for their execution, the jailor took them out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto been confined ſeparately, and ſhut them all up in one great room, that they might confeſs their ſins one to another, and join together in preparing for a future ſtate. But as ſoon as they were left alone, inſtead of employing themſelves in the religious exerciſes ſuitable to their condition, they began to reproach the Father Guardian, and four of the ſenior monks who had been moſt active in ſeducing them, for their inordinate ambition, which had brought ſuch miſery on them, and ſuch diſgrace upon their order. From reproaches they proceeded to curſes and execrations, and at laſt, in a frenzy of rage and deſpair, they fell upon them with ſuch violence, that they murdered the Father Guardian on the ſpot, and ſo diſabled the other four, that it became neceſſary to carry them next morning in a cart, together with the dead body of the Father Guardian, to the place of execution. Six of the youngeſt were pardoned, the reſt ſuffered the puniſhment which their crime merited [t].

A fruitleſs negotiation in order to eſtabliſh peace.

THOUGH both parties, exhauſted by the length of the war, carried it on in this languiſhing manner, neither of them ſhewed any diſpoſition to liſten to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole indeed laboured with all the zeal becoming his piety and humanity, to re-eſtabliſh concord among the Princes of Chriſtendom. He had not only perſuaded his miſtreſs, the Queen of England, to

[t] Thuan. lib. xv. p. 522. Belcar. Com. Rer. Gal. 866. Memoires du Marech. Vielleville, par M. Charloix, tom. iii. p. 249, &c. p. 347. Par. 1757.

enter

enter warmly into his ſentiments and to offer her mediation to the contending powers, but had prevailed both on the Emperor and King of France to ſend their plenipotentiaries to a village between Gravelines and Ardres. He himſelf, together with Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, repaired thither in order to preſide as mediators in the conferences, which were to be held for adjuſting all the points in difference. But though both the monarchs committed this negotiation to thoſe miniſters, in whom they placed the greateſt confidence, it was ſoon evident that they came together with no ſincere deſire of accommodation. Each propoſed articles ſo extravagant that they could have no hopes of their being accepted. Pole, after exerting, in vain, all his zeal, addreſs and invention, in order to perſuade them to relinquiſh ſuch extravagant demands, and to conſent to the ſubſtitution of more equal conditions, became ſenſible of the folly of waſting time, in attempting to reconcile thoſe, whom their obſtinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke off the conference, and returned into England [u]. Book XI. 1555. May 21.

DURING theſe tranſactions in other parts of Europe, Germany enjoyed ſuch profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leiſure to deliberate, and to eſtabliſh proper regulations concerning a point of the greateſt conſequence to the internal peace of the Empire. By the treaty of Paſſau in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-two, it had been referred to the next diet of the Empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification, which was there agreed upon. The terror and confuſion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburgh had filled the Empire, as well as the conſtant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been ſummoned ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, to meet at Augſburg. Affairs of Germany.

BUT as a diet was now neceſſary on many accounts, Ferdinand about the beginning of this year had repaired to Augſburg. Though few of the Princes were preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, he opened the aſſembly by a ſpeech, in which he propoſed the termination of the diſſentions, to which the new tenets and controverſies with regard to religion had given riſe, not only as the firſt and great buſineſs of the diet, but as the point which both the Emperor and he had Diet held at Augſburg, and Ferdinand's ſpeech in it.

[u] Thuan. lib. xv. p. 523. Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

moſt

Book X. 1555.

moſt at heart. He repreſented the innumerable obſtacles which the Emperor had to ſurmount before he could procure the convocation of a general council, as well as the fatal accidents which had for ſome time retarded, and had at laſt ſuſpended the conſultations of that aſſembly. He obſerved that experience had already taught them how vain it was to expect any remedy for evils, which demanded immediate redreſs, from a general council, the aſſembling of which would either be prevented, or its deliberations be interrupted by the diſſentions and hoſtilities of the Princes of Chriſtendom; That a national council in Germany, which, as ſome imagined, might be called with greater eaſe, and deliberate with more perfect ſecurity, was an aſſembly of an unprecedented nature, the juriſdiction of which was uncertain in its extent, and the form of its proceedings undefined; That in his opinion there remained but one method for compoſing their unhappy differences, which though it had been often tried without ſucceſs, might yet prove effectual if it were attempted with a better and more pacific ſpirit than had appeared on former occaſions, and that was to chooſe a few men of learning, abilities and moderation, who, by diſcuſſing the diſputed articles in an amicable conference, might explain them in ſuch a manner as to bring the contending parties either to unite in ſentiment, or to differ with charity.

Suſpicions and fears of the Proteſtants.

THIS ſpeech being printed in common form, and diſperſed over the Empire, revived the fears and jealouſies of the Proteſtants; Ferdinand, they obſerved with much ſurprize, had not once mentioned, in his addreſs to the diet, the treaty of Paſſau, the ſtipulations in which they conſidered as the great ſecurity of their religious liberty. The ſuſpicions to which this gave riſe were confirmed by the accounts which they daily received of the extreme rigour with which Ferdinand treated their Proteſtant brethren in his hereditary dominions, and as it was natural to conſider his actions as the ſureſt indication of his intentions, this diminiſhed their confidence in thoſe pompous profeſſions of moderation or of zeal for the re-eſtabliſhment of concord, to which his practice was ſo utterly repugnant.

Theſe increaſed by the arrival of a nuncio from the Pope to the diet.

THE arrival of the Cardinal Morone, whom the Pope had appointed to attend the diet as his nuncio, compleated their conviction, and left them no room to doubt that ſome dangerous machination was forming againſt

againſt the peace or ſafety of the Proteſtant church. Julius elated with the unexpected return of the Engliſh nation from apoſtacy, began to flatter himſelf that the ſpirit of mutiny and revolt having now ſpent its force, the happy period was come when the church might reſume its ancient authority, and he obeyed by the people with the ſame tame ſubmiſſion as formerly. Full of theſe hopes, he had ſent Morone to Augſburg with inſtructions to employ his eloquence in order to excite the Germans to imitate the laudable example of the Engliſh, and his political addreſs in order to prevent any decree of the diet to the detriment of the catholick faith. As Morone inherited from his father, the chancellor of Milan, uncommon talents for negotiation and intrigue, he could ſcarce have failed of embarraſſing the meaſures of the Proteſtants in the diet, or of defeating whatever they aimed at obtaining in it for their farther ſecurity.

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The death of Julius III.

BUT an unforeſeen event delivered them from all the danger which they had reaſon to apprehend from Morone's preſence. Julius, by abandoning himſelf to pleaſures and amuſements no leſs unbecoming his age than his character, having contracted ſuch habits of diſſipation, that any ſerious occupation, eſpecially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long reſiſted the ſolicitations of his nephew to hold a conſiſtory, becauſe he expected there a violent oppoſition to his ſchemes in favour of that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding his requeſt were exhauſted, and at the ſame time his indolent averſion to buſineſs continued to grow upon him, he feigned indiſpoſition rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and that he might give the deceit a greater colour of probability, he not only confined himſelf to his apartment, but changed his uſual diet and manner of life. By perſiſting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real diſeaſe, of which he died in a few days, March 23. leaving his infamous minion the Cardinal de Monte to bear his name, and to diſgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him [v]. As ſoon as Morone heard of his death, he ſet out abruptly from Augſburg, where he had reſided only a few days, that he might be preſent at the election of a new Pontiff.

The nuncio ſets out for Rome.

[v] Onuphr. Panvinius de vitis Pontificum, p. 320. Thuan. lib. xv. p. 517.

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ONE cauſe of their ſuſpicions and fears being thus removed, the Proteſtants ſoon became ſenſible that their conjectures concerning Ferdinand's intentions, how plauſible ſoever, were ill-founded, and that he had no thoughts of violating the articles favourable to them in the treaty of Paſſau. Charles, from the time that Maurice had defeated all his ſchemes in the Empire, and overturned the great ſyſtem of religious and civil deſpotiſm, which he had almoſt eſtabliſhed there, gave little attention to the internal government of Germany, and permitted his brother to purſue whatever meaſures he judged moſt ſalutary and expedient. Ferdinand, leſs ambitious and enterprizing than the Emperor, inſtead of reſuming a plan, which he, with power and reſources ſo far ſuperior, had failed of accompliſhing, endeavoured to attach the Princes of the Empire to his family by an adminiſtration uniformly moderate and equitable. To this he gave, at preſent, particular attention, becauſe his ſituation at this juncture rendered it neceſſary to court their favour and ſupport with more than uſual aſſiduity.

1555. Ferdinand's reaſons for wiſhing to ſatisfy the Proteſtants.

CHARLES had again reſumed his favourite project of acquiring the Imperial crown for his ſon Philip, which the ill reception it had met with when firſt propoſed had obliged him to intermit, but had not perſuaded him to relinquiſh. This led him warmly to renew his requeſts to his brother that he would accept of ſome compenſation for his prior right of ſucceſſion, and ſacrifice that to the grandeur of the houſe of Auſtria. Ferdinand who was as little diſpoſed, as formerly, to give ſuch an extraordinary proof of ſelf-denial, being ſenſible that, in order to defeat this ſcheme, not only the moſt inflexible firmneſs on his part, but a vigorous declaration from the Princes of the Empire in behalf of his title, were requiſite; was willing to purchaſe their favour by gratifying them in every point that they deemed intereſting or eſſential.

Charles had reſumed his plan of altering the ſucceſſion to the Empire.

ON the other hand, the Turks, after having wreſted from him great part of his Hungarian territories, were ready to attack the provinces ſtill ſubject to his authority with a formidable army, againſt which he could bring no equal force into the field, unleſs the diet ſhould grant him immediate and extraordinary aid. For this he could not hope if the internal peace of the Empire were not eſtabliſhed on a foundation ſolid in itſelf, and which ſhould appear, even to the Proteſtants, ſo ſecure and ſo permanent,

The Turks were ready to invade Hungary.

permanent, as might not only allow them to engage in a diſtant war with ſafety, but encourage them to act with vigour.

He is alarmed at ſome ſteps taken by the Proteſtants.

A STEP taken by the Proteſtants themſelves, a ſhort time after the opening of the diet, rendered him ſtill more cautious of giving them any new cauſe of offence. As ſoon as the publication of Ferdinand's ſpeech created the fears and ſuſpicions which have been mentioned, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, together with the Landgrave of Heſſe, met at Naumburgh, and renewing the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting parties bound themſelves to adhere to the confeſſion of Augſburg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in ther reſpective dominions [w].

Ferdinand zealous to promote an accommodation.

FERDINAND, influenced by all theſe conſiderations, employed his utmoſt addreſs in conducting the deliberations of the diet ſo as not to excite the jealouſy of a party on whoſe friendſhip he depended, and whoſe enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm, but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had ſo much reaſon to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's propoſal of taking the ſtate of religion into conſideration, previous to any other buſineſs. But, as ſoon as they entered upon it, both parties diſcovered all the zeal and animoſity which a ſubject ſo intereſting naturally engenders, and which the rancour of controverſy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the higheſt pitch.

The pretenſions of the Catholicks and Proteſtants.

THE Proteſtants contended that the ſecurity which they claimed in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau ſhould extend, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the doctrine of Luther, or who ſhould hereafter embrace it. The Catholics, having firſt of all aſſerted the Pope's right as the ſupreme and final judge with reſpect to all articles of faith, inſiſted that the toleration granted, by the treaty of Paſſau, to ſuch as had adopted the new opinions; which, on account of the preſent ſituation of the Empire, and for the ſake of peace, they were willing to confirm; ſhould not be extended either to thoſe cities which had conformed to the Interim, or to ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould for the future apoſtatize

[w] Chytræi Saxonia, 480.

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from the church Rome. It was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch oppoſite pretenſions, which were ſupported, on each ſide, by the moſt elaborate arguments, and the greateſt acrimony of expreſſion, that the abilities or zeal of theologians long exerciſed in diſputation could ſuggeſt. Ferdinand, however, by his addreſs and perſeverance; by ſoftening ſome things on each ſide; by putting a favourable meaning upon others; by repreſenting inceſſantly the neceſſity as well as the advantages of concord; and by threatening on ſome occaſions, when all other conſiderations were diſregarded, to diſſolve the diet, brought them at length to a concluſion in which they all agreed.

Sept. 25. The peace of religion eſtabliſhed.

CONFORMABLY to this a receſs was framed, approved of, and publiſhed with the uſual formalities. The following are the chief articles which it contained. That ſuch Princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhall be permitted to profeſs the doctrine and exerciſe the worſhip which it authoriſes without interruption or moleſtation from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or perſon whatſoever; That the Proteſtants on their part, ſhall give no diſquiet to the Princes and States who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome; That, for the future, no attempt ſhall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of perſuaſion and conference; That the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhall claim no ſpiritual juriſdiction in ſuch ſtates as receive the confeſſion of Augſburg; That ſuch as had ſeized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Paſſau, ſhall retain poſſeſſion of them, and be liable to no proſecution in the imperial chamber on that account; That the ſupreme civil power in every ſtate ſhall have right to eſtabliſh what form of doctrine and worſhip it ſhall deem proper, and if any of its ſubjects refuſe to conform to theſe, ſhall permit them to remove with all their effects wherever they pleaſe; That if any prelate or eccleſiaſtic ſhall hereafter abandon the Romiſh religion, he ſhall inſtantly relinquiſh his dioceſe or benefice, and it ſhall be lawful for thoſe in whom the right of nomination is veſted, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or tranſlation, and to appoint a ſucceſſor of undoubted attachment to the ancient ſyſtem [x].

[x] Sleid. 620. F. Paul, 368. Pallav. lib. 11. p. 161.

SUCH

1555.

Reflections on the progreſs of the principles of toleration.

SUCH are the capital articles in this famous Receſs, which is the baſis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union among its various ſtates, the ſentiments of which are ſo extremely different with reſpect to points the moſt intereſting and important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of Toleration is familiar, and its beneficial effects well known, it may ſeem ſtrange that a method of terminating their diſſentions, ſo ſuitable to the mild and charitable ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, did not ſooner occur to the contending parties. But an expedient, which, how ſalutary ſoever it might be, was repugnant to the ſentiments and practice of Chriſtians during many ages, did not lie obvious to diſcovery. Among the ancient heathens, all whoſe deities were local and tutelary, diverſity of ſentiment concerning the object or rights of religious worſhip ſeems to have been no ſource of animoſity, becauſe the acknowledging veneration to be due to any one God, did not apply denial of the exiſtence or the power of any other God; nor were the modes and rites of worſhip eſtabliſhed in one country incompatible with thoſe which other nations approved of and obſerved. Thus the errors in their ſyſtem of theology were of ſuch a nature as to be productive of concord, and notwithſtanding the amazing number of their deities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a ſociable and tolerating ſpirit ſubſiſted almoſt univerſally in the pagan world.

BUT when the Chriſtian revelation declared one Supreme Being to be the ſole object of religious veneration, preſcribed the form of worſhip moſt acceptable to him, whoever admitted the truth it held, of conſequence, every other mode of religion to be abſurd and impious. Hence the zeal of the firſt converts to the Chriſtian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they laboured to overturn every other form of worſhip. They employed, however, for this purpoſe no methods but ſuch as ſuited the nature of religion. By the force of powerful arguments, they convinced the underſtandings of men; by the charms of ſuperior virtue, they allured and captivated their hearts. At length the civil power declared in favour of Chriſtianity, and though numbers, imitating the example of their ſuperiors, crowded into the Church, many ſtill adhered to their ancient ſuperſtitions. Enraged at their obſtinacy, the miniſters of re-

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ligion, whoſe zeal was ſtill unabated, though their ſanctity and virtue were much diminiſhed, forgot ſo far the nature of their own miſſion, and of the arguments which they ought to have employed, that they armed the Imperial power againſt theſe unhappy men, and as they could not perſuade, they tried to compel them to believe.

At the ſame time, controverſies concerning articles of faith multiplied, from various cauſes, among chriſtians themſelves, and the ſame unhallowed weapons which had firſt been uſed againſt the enemies of their religion, were turned againſt each other. Every zealous diſputant endeavoured to intereſt the civil magiſtrate in his cauſe, and each in his turn employed the ſecular arm to cruſh or to exterminate his opponents. Not long after, the biſhops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding points in controverſy, and bold as the pretenſion was, they by their artifices and perſeverance, impoſed on the credulity of mankind, and brought them to recognize it. To doubt or to deny any doctrine to which theſe unerring inſtructors had given the ſanction of their approbation, was held to be not only a reſiſting of truth, but an act of rebellion againſt their ſacred authority; and the ſecular power, of which by various arts they had acquired the abſolute direction, was inſtantly employed to avenge both.

Thus Europe had been accuſtomed, during many centuries, to ſee ſpeculative opinions propagated or defended by force; the charity and mutual forbearance which Chriſtianity recommends with ſo much warmth, were forgotten, the ſacred rights of conſcience and of private judgment were unheard of, and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itſelf, in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force was univerſally allowed to be the prerogative of thoſe who poſſeſſed the knowledge of truth, and as each party of Chriſtians believed that they had got poſſeſſion of this invaluable attainment, they all claimed and exerciſed, as far as they were able, the rights which it was ſuppoſed to convey. The Roman catholics, as their ſyſtem reſted on the deciſions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their ſide, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators who had riſen up againſt it. The Proteſtants, no leſs confi-

dent

dent that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardour, the Princes of their party to check ſuch as preſumed to impugn or to oppoſe it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their reſpective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the ſame puniſhments which were denounced againſt their own diſciples by the church of Rome, on ſuch as called in queſtion any article in their creeds. To their followers, and perhaps to their opponents, it would have appeared a ſymptom of diffidence in the goodneſs of their cauſe, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in its defence all thoſe means which it was ſuppoſed truth had a right to employ.

It was towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, before Toleration, under its preſent form, was admitted firſt into the republic of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities of mutual perſecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progreſs of ſcience, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magiſtrate, were all requiſite in order to eſtabliſh a regulation, ſo repugnant to the ideas which all the different ſects had adopted from miſtaken conceptions concerning the nature of religion and the rights of truth, or which all of them had derived from the erroneous maxims eſtabliſhed by the church of Rome.

Advantages of the religious peace to the Lutherans.

The receſs of Augſburg, it is evident, was founded on no ſuch liberal and enlarged ſentiments concerning freedom of religious inquiry or the nature of toleration. It was nothing more than a ſcheme of pacification, which political conſiderations alone had ſuggeſted to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquillity and ſafety had rendered neceſſary. Of this there can be no ſtronger proof than an article in the receſs itſelf, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the Catholics on the one ſide, and to ſuch as adhered to the Confeſſion of Augſburg on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in conſequence of that excluſion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced againſt heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal ſecurity until the treaty of Weſtphalia, near a century after this period, provided that they ſhould be admitted to enjoy, in as ample manner as the Lutherans,

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all the advantages and protection which the receſs of Augſburg affords.

1555. and to the Catholicks.

But if the followers of Luther were highly pleaſed with the ſecurity which they acquired by this receſs, ſuch as adhered to the ancient ſyſtem had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied with that article in it, which preſerved entire to the Roman catholick church the benefices of ſuch eccleſiaſticks as ſhould hereafter renounce its doctrines. This article, known in Germany by the name of the *Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation*, was manifeſtly ſo conformable to the idea and to the rights of an eſtabliſhed church; and it appeared ſo equitable to prevent revenues, which had been originally appropriated for the maintenance of perſons attached to a certain ſyſtem, from being alienated to any other purpoſe, that the proteſtants, though they foreſaw its conſequences, were obliged to relinquiſh their oppoſition to it. As the Roman catholic Princes of the Empire have taken care to ſee this article exactly obſerved in every caſe where there was an opportunity of putting it in execution, it has proved the great barrier of the Romiſh church in Germany againſt the Reformation; and as from this period the ſame temptation of intereſt did not allure eccleſiaſticks to relinquiſh the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, there have been few of that order, who have loved truth with ſuch diſintereſted and ardent affection, as to abandon for its ſake the rich benefices which they had in poſſeſſion.

Marcellus II. elected Pope, April 9.

During the ſitting of the diet, Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal of Santa Croce, was elected Pope in room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the Papal Chair.

His character.

As he equalled that pontiff in purity of intention, and excelled him much in the arts of government, and ſtill more in knowledge of the ſtate and genius of the papal court; as he had capacity to diſcern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear, ſuch regulations were expected from his virtue and wiſdom, as would have removed many of its groſſeſt and moſt flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the church, ſuch as from indignation at theſe enormities had abandoned its communion. But this excellent Pontiff was only ſhewn to the church and immediately ſnatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his acceſſion, together

together with too intenſe and anxious application of mind to the ſchemes of improvement which he meditated, exhauſted ſo entirely the vigour of his feeble conſtitution, that he ſickened on the twelfth, and died on the twentieth day after his election [y]. His death.

ALL the refinements in artifice and intrigue, peculiar to conclaves, were diſplayed in that which was held for electing a ſucceſſor to Marcellus; the Cardinals of the Imperial and French factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the neceſſary number of ſuffrages for one of their own party. But, after a ſtruggle of no long duration, though conducted with all the warmth and eagerneſs natural to men contending for ſo great an object, they united in chooſing John Peter Caraffa the eldeſt member of the ſacred college and the ſon of Count Montorio, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family in the kingdom of Naples. The addreſs and influence of Cardinal Farneſe who favoured his pretenſions, Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age, which ſoothed all the diſappointed candidates with the nearer proſpect of a new vacancy, concurred in bringing about this ſpeedy union of ſuffrages. In order to teſtify his reſpect for the memory of Paul III. by whom he had been created Cardinal, and his gratitude to the family of Farneſe, he aſſumed the name of Paul IV. The election of Paul IV. May 23.

THE choice of a prelate of ſuch a ſingular character, and who had long held a courſe extremely different from that which uſually led to the dignity now conferred upon him, filled the Italians, who had neareſt acceſs to obſerve his manners and deportment, with aſtoniſhment, and kept them in ſuſpenſe and ſolicitude with regard to his future conduct. Paul, though born in a rank of life which, without any other merit, might have ſecured to him the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferments, had from his early years applied to ſtudy with all the aſſiduity of a man, who had nothing but his perſonal accompliſhments to render him conſpicuous. By means of this he not only acquired profound ſkill in ſcholaſtick theology, but added to that a conſiderable knowledge of the learned languages and of poilte literature, the ſtudy of which had been lately revived in Italy, and was purſued at this time with His riſe and character.

[y] Thuan. 520. F. Paul, 365. Onuph. Panvin. 321, &c.

great

Book XI. great ardour. His mind, however, naturally gloomy and ſevere, was more formed to imbibe the ſour ſpirit of the former, than to receive any degree of elegance or liberality of ſentiment from the latter; ſo that he acquired rather the qualities and paſſions of a recluſe eccleſiaſtick, than the talents neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs. Accordingly, when he entered into orders, although ſeveral rich benefices were beſtowed on him, and he was early employed as nuncio in different courts, he ſoon became diſguſted with that courſe of life, and languiſhed to be in a ſituation more ſuited to his taſte and temper. With this view he reſigned at once all his eccleſiaſtical preferments, and having inſtituted an order of regular prieſts, whom he denominated Theatines, from the name of the archbiſhoprick which he had held, he aſſociated himſelf as a member of their fraternity, conformed to all the rigorous rules to which he had ſubjected them, and preferred the ſolitude of a monaſtick life, with the honour of being the founder of a new order, to all the vaſt objects which the court of Rome preſented to his ambition.

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In this retreat he remained for many years, until Paul III. induced by the fame of his ſanctity and knowledge called him to Rome, in order to conſult with him concerning the meaſures which might be moſt proper and effectual for the ſuppreſſing of hereſy, and re-eſtabliſhing the ancient authority of the church. Having thus allured him from his ſolitude, the Pope, partly by his intreaties, and partly by his authority, prevailed on him to accept of a Cardinal's hat, to re-aſſume the benefices which he had reſigned, and to return again into the uſual path of eccleſiaſtical ambition which he ſeemed to have relinquiſhed. But, during two ſucceſſive Pontificates, under the firſt of which the court of Rome was the moſt artful and intereſted, and under the ſecond the moſt diſſolute of any in Europe, Caraffa retained his monaſtic auſterity. He was an avowed and bitter enemy not only of all innovation in opinion, but of every irregularity in practice; he was the chief inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the formidable and odious tribunal of the Inquiſition in the papal territories; he appeared a violent advocate on all occaſions for the juriſdiction and diſcipline of the church, and a ſevere cenſurer of every meaſure which ſeemed to flow from motives of policy or intereſt, rather than from zeal for the honour of the eccleſiaſtical order, and the dignity of

of the Holy See. Under a prelate of ſuch a character, the Roman courtiers expected a ſevere and violent Pontificate, during which the principles of ſound policy would be ſacrificed to the narrow prejudices of prieſtly zeal; while the people of Rome were apprehenſive of ſeeing the ſordid and forbidding rigour of monaſtick manners ſubſtituted in place of the gaiety or magnificence to which they had long been accuſtomed in the papal court. Theſe apprehenſions Paul was extremely ſolicitous to remove. At his firſt entrance on the adminiſtration he laid aſide that auſterity which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed his perſon and family, and when the maſter of his houſhold inquired in what manner he would chooſe to live, he haughtily replied, "as becomes a great Prince." He ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be conducted with more than uſual magnificence; and endeavoured to render himſelf popular by ſeveral acts of liberality and indulgence towards the inhabitants of Rome [z]. Book XI. 1555. The firſt ſteps of his adminiſtration.

His natural ſeverity of temper, however, would have ſoon returned upon him, and would have juſtified the conjectures of the courtiers, and the fears of the people, if he had not, immediately after his election, called to Rome two of his nephews, ſons of his brother the Count of Montorio. The eldeſt he promoted to be governor of Rome, the youngeſt who had hitherto ſerved as a ſoldier of fortune in the armies of Spain or France, and whoſe diſpoſition as well as manners were ſtill more foreign from the clerical character than his profeſſion, he created a Cardinal, and appointed him legate of Bologna, the ſecond office in power and dignity which a Pope can beſtow. Theſe marks of favour, no leſs ſudden than extravagant, he accompanied with the moſt unbounded confidence and attachment, and forgetting all his former ſevere maxims, he ſeemed to have no other object than the aggrandizing of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately for Paul, was too aſpiring to be ſatisfied with any moderate acquiſition. They had ſeen the family of Medici raiſed by the intereſt of the Popes of that houſe to ſupreme power in Tuſcany; Paul III. had by his abilities and addreſs ſecured the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to the family of Farneſe. They aimed at ſome eſtabliſh- The exceſs of his attachment to his nephews. Their ambitious projects.

[z] Platina, p. 327. Caſtaldo Vita di Paolo IV. Rom. 1615. p. 70.

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ment for themſelves, no leſs conſiderable and independent; and as they could not expect that the Pope would carry his indulgence towards them ſo far as to ſecularize any part of the patrimony of the church, they had no proſpect of attaining what they wiſhed, but by diſmembering the Imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of ſeizing ſome portion of them. This alone would have been to them a ſufficient reaſon for ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord between their uncle and the Emperor.

Reaſons of their diſguſt with the Emperor.

But Cardinal Caraffa, had, beſides, private reaſons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the Emperor. While he ſerved in the Spaniſh troops he had not received ſuch marks of honour and diſtinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Diſguſted with this ill-uſage, he had abruptly quitted the Imperial ſervice, and entering into that of France, he not only met with ſuch a reception as ſoothed his vanity, and attached him to the French intereſt, but by contracting an intimate friendſhip with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuſcany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the Emperor as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian ſtates. Nor was the Pope himſelf indiſpoſed to receive impreſſions unfavourable to the Emperor. The oppoſition given to his election by the Cardinals of the Imperial faction left in his mind deep reſentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his miniſters.

They endeavour to alienate the Pope from the Emperor.

Of this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices, in order to exaſperate him beyond a poſſibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumſtance which could be deemed any indication of the Emperor's diſſatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter in which Charles taxed the Cardinals of his party with negligence or incapacity in not having defeated Paul's election: They pretended, at one time, to have diſcovered a conſpiracy formed by the Imperial miniſter and Coſmo di Medici againſt the Pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for aſſaſſinating themſelves. By theſe artifices, they kept his mind, which was naturally violent and become ſuſpicious from old age, in ſuch perpetual agitation, as precipitated him into meaſures, which otherwiſe he would have been the firſt perſon to condemn [a]. He

[a] Ripamontii Hiſt. Patriæ, lib. iii. 1146. Ap. Græv. Theſ. vol. ii. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 615. Adriani Iſtor. i. 906.

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ſeized ſome of the Cardinals who were moſt attached to the Emperor, and confined them in the caſtle of St. Angelo; he perſecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the Imperial faction, with the utmoſt ſeverity; and diſcovering on all occaſions his diſtruſt, fear, or hatred of the Emperor, he began at laſt to court the friendſhip of the French king, and ſeemed willing to throw himſelf abſolutely upon him for ſupport and protection.

Induce him to court the King of France.

THIS was the very point to which his nephews wiſhed to bring him as moſt favourable to their ambitious ſchemes; and as the accompliſhment of theſe depended on their uncle's life, whoſe advanced age did not admit of loſing a moment unneceſſarily in negotiations, inſtead of treating at ſecond hand with the French ambaſſador at Rome, they prevailed on the Pope to diſpatch a perſon of confidence directly to the court of France with ſuch overtures on his part as they hoped would not be rejected. He propoſed an alliance offenſive and defenſive between Henry and the Pope; that they ſhould attack the dutchy of Tuſcany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and if their arms ſhould prove ſucceſsful, that the ancient republican form of government ſhould be reeſtabliſhed in the former, and the inveſtiture of the latter ſhould be granted to one of the French King's ſons, after reſerving a certain territory which ſhould be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independent and princely eſtabliſhment for each of the Pope's nephews.

Conſtable Montmorency oppoſes the alliance with the Pope.

THE King, allured by theſe ſpecious projects, gave a moſt favourable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was propoſed in council, the conſtable Montmorency, whoſe natural caution and averſion to daring enterprizes increaſed with age and experience, remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt the alliance. He put Henry in mind how fatal every expedition into Italy had been to France during three ſucceſſive reigns, and if ſuch an enterprize had proved too great for the nation even when its ſtrength and finances were entire, there was no reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, if it ſhould be attempted now when both were exhauſted by extraordinary efforts during wars, which had laſted, with little interruption, almoſt half a century. He repreſented the manifeſt imprudence of entering into engagements

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ments with a Pope of fourſcore, as any ſyſtem which reſted on no better foundation than his life muſt be extremely precarious, and upon the event of his death, which could not be diſtant, the face of things together with the inclination of the Italian States muſt inſtantly change, and the whole weight of the war be left upon the King alone. To theſe conſiderations he added the near proſpect which they now had of a final accommodation with the Emperor, who having taken the reſolution of retiring from the world, wiſhed to tranſmit his kingdoms in peace to his ſon; and he concluded with repreſenting the abſolute certainty of drawing the arms of England upon France, if it ſhould appear that the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in Europe was prevented by the ambition of its Monarch.

The Duke of Guiſe favours it.

THESE arguments, weighty in themſelves, and urged by a miniſter of great authority, would probably have determined the King to decline any connection with the Pope. But the Duke of Guiſe and his brother the Cardinal of Lorrain, who delighted no leſs in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency ſhunned them, declared warmly for an alliance with the Pope. The cardinal expected to be entruſted with the conduct of the negotiations in the court of Rome to which this alliance would give riſe; the duke laid his account with obtaining the command of the army which would be appointed to invade Naples; and conſidering themſelves as already in theſe ſtations, vaſt projects opened to their aſpiring and unbounded ambition. Their credit, together with the influence of the King's miſtreſs, the famous Diana of Poitiers, who was, at that time, entirely devoted to the intereſt of the family of Guiſe, more than counterbalanced all Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances, and prevailed on an inconſiderate Prince to liſten to the overtures of the Pope's envoy.

Cardinal of Lorrain ſent to negotiate with the Pope.

THE cardinal of Lorrain, as he had expected, was immediately ſent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert meaſures for carrying it into execution. Meanwhile, the Pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain iſſue of all military operations, or through the addreſs of the Imperial ambaſſador who had been at great pains to ſooth him, had not only begun to loſe much of the ardour with which he had ſet on foot the negotiation with France, but even diſcovered great

great unwillingneſs to continue it. In order to rouſe him from this fit of deſpondency, and to rekindle his former rage, his nephews had recourſe to the arts which they had already practiſed with ſo much ſucceſs. They alarmed him with new repreſentations of the Emperor's hoſtile intentions, with freſh accounts which they had received of threats uttered againſt him by the Imperial miniſters, and with new diſcoveries which they pretended to have made of conſpiracies formed, and juſt ready to take effect againſt his life.

Paul enraged at the proceedings of the diet of Augſburg;

But theſe artifices, having been formerly tried, would not have operated a ſecond time with the ſame force, nor have made the impreſſion which they wiſhed, if Paul had not been excited by an offence of that kind which he was leaſt able to bear. He received advice of the receſs of the diet of Augſburg, and of the toleration which was thereby granted to the Proteſtants, and this threw him at once into ſuch tranſports of paſſion againſt the Emperor and King of the Romans, as carried him headlong into all the violent meaſures of his nephews. Full of high ideas with reſpect to the papal prerogative, and animated with the fierceſt zeal againſt hereſy, he conſidered the liberty of deciding concerning religious matters, which had been aſſumed by an aſſembly compoſed partly of laymen, as a preſumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that juriſdiction which belonged to him alone; and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the Proteſtants as an impious act of that power which the diet had uſurped. He complained loudly of both to the Imperial ambaſſador. He inſiſted that the receſs of the diet ſhould immediately be declared illegal and void. He threatened the Emperor and King of the Romans, in caſe they ſhould either refuſe or delay to gratify him in this particular, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance. He talked in a tone of authority and command which might have ſuited a pontiff of the twelfth century, when a papal decree was ſufficient to have ſhaken or to have overturned the throne of the greateſt Monarch, but which was altogether improper in that age, eſpecially when addreſſed to the miniſter of a Prince who had ſo often made Pontiffs more formidable feel the weight of his power. The ambaſſador, however, heard all his extravagant propoſitions and menaces, with much patience, and endeavoured to ſooth him by putting him in mind of the extreme

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treme diſtreſs to which the Emperor was reduced at Inſpruck, of the engagements which he had come under to the Proteſtants in order to extricate himſelf, of the neceſſity of fulfilling theſe, and of accommodating his conduct to the ſituation of his affairs. But weighty as theſe conſiderations were, they made no impreſſion on the mind of the haughty and bigotted pontiff, who inſtantly replied, that he would abſolve him by his apoſtolick authority from the obligation of theſe engagements, and even command him not to perform them; that in carrying on the cauſe of God and of the church, no regard ought to be had to the maxims of worldly prudence and policy, and that the ill ſucceſs of the Emperor's ſchemes in Germany might juſtly be deemed a mark of the divine diſpleaſure againſt him, on account of his having paid little attention to the former, while he regulated his conduct entirely by the latter. Having ſaid this, he turned from the ambaſſador abruptly without waiting for a reply.

and exaſperated by his nephews.

His nephews took care to applaud and cheriſh theſe ſentiments, and eaſily wrought up his arrogant mind, fraught with all the monkiſh ideas concerning the extent of the papal ſupremacy, to ſuch a pitch of reſentment againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and to ſuch an high opinion of his own power, that he talked continually of his being the ſucceſſor of thoſe who had depoſed Kings and Emperors; that he was exalted as head over them all, and would trample ſuch as oppoſed him under his feet. In this diſpoſition, the cardinal of Lorrain found the Pope, and eaſily perſuaded him to ſign a treaty, which had for its object, the ruin of a Prince againſt whom he was ſo highly exaſperated. The ſtipulations in the treaty were much the ſame as had been propoſed by the Pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole tranſaction ſecret until their united forces ſhould be ready to take the field [b].

Decem 15. Concludes a treaty with France.

The Emperor reſolves to reſign his hereditary dominions.

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which ſeemed to render the fears which had given riſe to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unneceſſary. This was the Emperor's reſignation of his hereditary dominions to his

[b] Pallav. lib. 13. p. 163. F. Paul, 365. Thuan. lib. xv. 525. lib. xvi. 540. Mem de Ribier, ii. 609, &c.

ſon

ſon Philip; together with his reſolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in buſineſs or the affairs of this world, in order that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in retirement and ſolitude. Though it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary diſcernment to diſcover that the ſtate of royalty is not exempt from cares and diſappointment; though moſt of thoſe who are exalted to a throne find ſolicitude, and ſatiety, and diſguſt to be their perpetual attendants in that envied pre-eminence; yet, to deſcend voluntarily from the ſupreme to a ſubordinate ſtation, and to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of power in order to attain the enjoyment of happineſs, ſeems to be an effort too great for the human mind. Several inſtances, indeed, occur in hiſtory of Monarchs who have quitted a throne, and have ended their days in retirement. But they were either weak Princes who took this reſolution raſhly, and repented of it as ſoon as it was taken; or unfortunate Princes from whoſe hands ſome ſtrong rival had wreſted their ſceptre, and compelled them to deſcend with reluctance into a private ſtation. Diocleſian is perhaps the only Prince capable of holding the reins of government, who ever reſigned them from deliberate choice, and who continued during many years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement without fetching one penitent ſigh, or caſting back one look of deſire, towards the power or dignity which he had abandoned. Book XI. 1555.

No wonder, then, that Charles's reſignation ſhould fill all Europe with aſtoniſhment, and give riſe, both among his contemporaries, and among the hiſtorians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives, which determined a Prince, whoſe ruling paſſion had been uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty-ſix, when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are purſued with the greateſt ardour, to take a reſolution ſo ſingular and unexpected. But while many authors have imputed it to motives ſo frivolous and fantaſtical, as can hardly be ſuppoſed to influence any reaſonable mind; while others have imagined it to be the reſult of ſome profound ſcheme of policy; hiſtorians more intelligent, and better informed, neither aſcribe it to caprice, nor ſearch for myſterious ſecrets of ſtate, where ſimple and obvious cauſes will fully account for the Emperor's conduct. Charles had been attacked

The motives of this reſignation.

Book XI. 1555. early in life with the gout, and notwithſtanding all the precautions of the moſt ſkilful phyſicians in his time, the violence of the diſtemper increaſed as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more intolerable. Not only was the vigour of his conſtitution broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. During the continuance of the fits, he was altogether incapable of applying to buſineſs, and even when they began to abate, as it was only at intervals that he could attend to what was ſerious, he gave up the greateſt part of his time to trifling and even childiſh occupations, which ſerved to relieve or to amuſe his mind, enfeebled and worn out with exceſs of pain. Under theſe circumſtances, the conduct of ſuch affairs as occurred, of courſe, in governing ſo many kingdoms was a burden more than ſufficient; but to puſh forward and compleat the vaſt ſchemes, which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the ſame great ſyſtem of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were taſks, which far exceeded his ſtrength, and oppreſſed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accuſtomed to view the buſineſs of every department, whether civil, or military, or eccleſiaſtical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas; it gave him the utmoſt pain, when he felt his infirmities increaſe ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his miniſters. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miſcarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable, and the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inſpection of buſineſs himſelf. He complained of his hard fortune, in being oppoſed, in his declining years, to a rival, who was in the full vigour of life, and that while Henry could take and execute all his reſolutions in perſon, he ſhould now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the abilities of other men. Having thus grown old before his time, he wiſely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in ſome ſolitude, than to expoſe them any longer to the publick eye; and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame, or loſe the acquiſitions of his better years, by ſtruggling, with a vain obſtinacy, to retain the reins of government, when he

was

was no longer able to hold them with ſteadineſs, or to guide them with addreſs [c]. Book XI.

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But though Charles had revolved this ſcheme in his mind for ſeveral years, and had communicated it to his ſiſters the dowager Queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him to whatever place of retreat he ſhould chooſe; ſeveral things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his ſon with the government of ſo many kingdoms, until he ſhould attain ſuch maturity of age, and of abilities, as would enable him to ſuſtain that weighty burden; but as Philip had now reached his twenty-eighth year, and had been early accuſtomed to buſineſs, for which he diſcovered both inclination and capacity, it can hardly be imputed to the partiality of paternal affection, that his ſcruples with regard to this point, were entirely removed; and that he thought he might, without further heſitation or delay, place him on the throne which he was about to abandon. His mother's ſituation had been another obſtruction in his way. For although ſhe had continued almoſt fifty years in confinement, and under the ſame diſorder of mind which concern for her huſband's death had brought upon her, yet the government of Circumſtances which had retarded it.

[c] Dom Deveſque in his memoirs of cardinal Granvelle gives a reaſon for the Emperor's reſignation, which, as I recollect, is not mentioned by any other hiſtorian. He ſays, that the Emperor having ceded the government of the kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan to his ſon, upon his marriage with the Queen of England; Philip, notwithſtanding the advice and entreaties of his father, removed all the miniſters and officers in thoſe countries, and appointed creatures of his own, to fill the places which they held. That he aſpired openly, and with little delicacy, to obtain a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs in the Low-Countries. That he endeavoured to thwart the Emperor's meaſures, and to limit his authority, behaving towards him ſometimes with inattention, and ſometimes with haughtineſs. That Charles finding that he muſt either yield to his ſon, or openly contend with him, in order to avoid theſe, which were both diſagreeable and mortifying to a father, he took the reſolution of reſigning his crowns, and of retiring from the world, vol. i. p. 24, &c. Dom Leveſque derived his information concerning theſe curious facts, which he relates very briefly, from the original papers of cardinal Granvelle. But as that vaſt collection of papers, one of the moſt valuable hiſtorical monuments of the ſixteenth century, and which could not fail of throwing much light on the tranſactions of Charles V. though preſerved and arranged by M. L' Abbé Boizot of Beſancon, is not publiſhed, I cannot determine what degree of credit ſhould be given to this account of Charles's reſignation. I have therefore taken no notice of it in relating this event.

Book XI. 1555. Spain, was ſtill veſted in her jointly with the Emperor; her name was inſerted together with his, in all the public writs iſſued in that kingdom; and ſuch was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to her, that they would probably have ſcrupled to recognize Philip as their ſovereign, unleſs ſhe had conſented to aſſume him as her partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for buſineſs rendered it impoſſible to obtain this. But her death, which happened this year, removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon that event, became ſole Monarch of Spain, it left the ſucceſſion open to his ſon. The war with France had likewiſe been a reaſon for retaining the adminiſtration of affairs in his own hand, as he was extremely ſolicitous to have terminated it, that he might have given up his kingdoms to his ſon in peace with all the world. But as Henry had diſcovered no diſpoſition to cloſe with any of his overtures, and had even rejected propoſals of peace, which were equal and moderate, in a tone, that ſeemed to indicate a fixed purpoſe of continuing hoſtilities, he ſaw that it was vain to wait longer in expectation of an event, which, how deſirable ſoever, was altogether uncertain.

The formalities with which he executed it.

As this, then, appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the ſcheme which he had long meditated, Charles reſolved to reſign his kingdoms to his ſon, with a ſolemnity, ſuitable to the importance of the tranſaction, and to perform this laſt act of ſovereignty, with ſuch formal pomp, as might leave a laſting impreſſion on the minds not only of his ſubjects but of his ſucceſſor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peeviſh temper of his Queen, which increaſed with her deſpair of having iſſue, rendered him extremely unhappy, and the jealouſy of the Engliſh left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having aſſembled the ſtates of the Low-Countries at Bruſſels, on the twenty fifth of October, he ſeated himſelf, for the laſt time, in the chair of ſtate, on one ſide of which was placed his ſon, and on the other his ſiſter the Queen of Hungary regent of the Netherlands, with a ſplendid retinue of the grandees of Spain and princes of the Empire ſtanding behind him. The preſident of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the States. He then read the inſtrument of reſignation by which Charles ſurrendered to his ſon Philip all his territories, juriſdiction,

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and authority in the Low-Countries, abſolving his ſubjects there from their oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip his lawful heir, and to ſerve him with the ſame loyalty and zeal that they had manifeſted, during ſo long a courſe of years, in ſupport of his government.

CHARLES then roſe from his ſeat, and leaning on the ſhoulder of the Prince of Orange, becauſe he was unable to ſtand without ſupport, he addreſſed himſelf to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to aſſiſt his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration. He obſerved, that from the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to publick objects, reſerving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his eaſe, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleaſure; that either in a pacifick or hoſtile manner, he had viſited Germany nine times, Spain ſix times, France four times, Italy ſeven times, the Low-Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by ſea; that while his health permitted him to diſcharge his duty, and the vigour of his conſtitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing ſuch extenſive dominions, he had never ſhunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhauſted by the rage of an incurable diſtemper, his growing infirmities admoniſhed him to retire, nor was he ſo fond of reigning, as to retain the ſceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his ſubjects, or to render them happy; that inſtead of a ſovereign worn out with diſeaſes, and ſcarce half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accuſtomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and ſagacity of maturer years; that, if during the courſe of a long adminiſtration, he had committed any material error in government, or if under the preſſure and amidſt the attention which he had been obliged to give to ſo many and great affairs, he had either neglected or injured any of his ſubjects, he now implored their forgiveneſs; that, for his part, he ſhould ever retain a grateful ſenſe of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the

Book XI. 1555. place of his retreat, as his ſweeteſt conſolation, as well as the beſt reward for all his ſervices, and in his laſt prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his ardent wiſhes for their welfare.

THEN turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiſſed his father's hand, "If, ſays he, I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made ſuch large additions, ſome regard would have been juſtly due to my memory on that account; but now when I voluntarily reſign to you what I might have ſtill retained, I may well expect the warmeſt expreſſions of thanks on your part. With theſe, however, I diſpenſe, and ſhall conſider your concern for the welfare of your ſubjects, and your love of them, as the beſt and moſt acceptable teſtimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to juſtify the extraordinary proof which I give this day of my paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repoſe in you. Preſerve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholick faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be ſacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time ſhall ever come, when you ſhall wiſh to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a ſon endowed with ſuch qualities, that you can reſign your ſceptre to him, with as much ſatisfaction, as I give up mine to you."

As ſoon as Charles had finiſhed this long addreſs to his ſubjects and to their new ſovereign, he ſunk into the chair, exhauſted and ready to faint with the fatigue of ſuch an extraordinary effort. During his diſcourſe, the whole audience melted into tears, ſome from admiration of his magnanimity, others ſoftened by the expreſſions of tenderneſs towards his ſon, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepeſt ſorrow at loſing a ſovereign, who had diſtinguiſhed the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

PHILIP then aroſe from his knees, and after returning thanks to his father, with a low and ſubmiſſive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had beſtowed upon him, he addreſſed the aſſembly of the ſtates, and regretting his inability to ſpeak the Flemiſh language with

with ſuch facility as to expreſs what he felt on this intereſting occaſion, as well as what he owed to his good ſubjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would allow Granvelle biſhop of Arras, to deliver what he had given him in charge to ſpeak in his name. Granvelle, in a long diſcourſe, expatiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his ſubjects, on his reſolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of their happineſs, and on his intention to imitate his father's example in diſtinguiſhing the Netherlands with peculiar marks of his regard. Maës, a lawyer of great eloquence, replied, in name of the States, with large profeſſions of their fidelity and affection to their new ſovereign. Book XI. 1555.

THEN Mary, Queen dowager of Hungary, reſigned the regency, with which ſhe had been intruſted by her brother during the ſpace of twenty-five years. Next day Philip, in preſence of the States, took the uſual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his ſubjects; and all the members, in their own name, and in that of their conſtituents, ſwore allegiance to him [d]. 1556. January 6.

A FEW weeks thereafter, Charles, in an aſſembly no leſs ſplendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, reſigned to his ſon the crowns of Spain, with all their territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world. Of all theſe vaſt poſſeſſions, he reſerved nothing for himſelf but an annual penſion of an hundred thouſand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a ſmall ſum for acts of beneficence and charity [e].

[d] Godleveus Relatio Abdicationis Car. V. ap. Goldaſt. Polit. Imper. p 377. Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 5.

[e] The Emperor's reſignation is an event not only of ſuch importance, but of ſuch a nature, that the preciſe date of it, one would expect, ſhould have been aſcertained by hiſtorians with the greateſt accuracy. There is, however, an amazing and unaccountable diverſity among them with regard to this point. All agree that the deed by which Charles transferred to his ſon his dominions in the Netherlands, bears date at Bruſſels the 25th of October. Sandoval fixes on the 28th of October as the day on which the ceremony of reſignation happened, and he was preſent at the tranſaction, vol. ii. p. 592. Godleveus who publiſhed a treatiſe de Abdicatione Caroli V. fixes the publick ceremony as well as the date of the inſtrument of reſignation on the 25th. Pere Barré, I know not on what authority, fixes it on the 24th of November. Hiſt. D'Alem. viii. 976. Herrera agrees with Godleveus in ſentiment, tom. i. 155. as likewiſe does Pallavicini, whoſe authority with reſpect to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is requiſite, is of great weight. Hiſt. lib. xvi.

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Reſolves to fix his reſidence in Spain.

As he had fixed on a place of retreat in Spain, hoping that the dryneſs of the air and warmth of the climate in that country might mitigate the violence of his diſeaſe, which had been much increaſed by the moiſture of the air and the rigour of the winters in the Netherlands, he was extremely impatient to embark for that kingdom, and to diſengage himſelf entirely from buſineſs, which he found to be impoſſible while he remained in Bruſſels. But his phyſicians remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt his venturing to ſea at that cold and boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, that he conſented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for ſome months.

Obliged to remain for ſome time in the Netherlands.

Promotes the negotiation for peace.

By yielding to their intreaties, he had the ſatisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a conſiderable ſtep towards a peace with France, which he ardently wiſhed for, not only on his ſon's account, but that he might have the merit, when quitting the world, of reeſtabliſhing that tranquillity in Europe, which he had baniſhed out of it almoſt from the time that he aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs. Some time previous to his reſignation, commiſſioners had been appointed by him and by the French King, in order to treat of an exchange of priſoners. In their conferences at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally propoſed for terminating hoſtilities betwixt the contending monarchs, by a long truce, during the ſubſiſtence of which,

xvi. p. 168. Hiſtorians differ no leſs with regard to the day on which Charles reſigned the crown of Spain to his ſon. According to M. de Thou, it was a month after his having reſigned his dominions in the Netherlands, i. e. about the 25th of November, Thuan. lib. 16. p. 571. According to Sandoval it was on the 16th of January 1556, Sand. ii. 603. Antonio di Véra agrees with him, Epitome del Vida del Car. V. p. 110. According to Pallavicini it was on the 17th. Pal. lib. xvi. p. 168. and with him Herrera agrees, Vida del D. Felipe, tom. i. p. 233. But Ferreras fixes it on the firſt day of January, Hiſt. Gener. tom ix. p. 371. M. de Beaucaire ſuppoſes the reſignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the reſignation of the Netherlands, Com. de Reb. Gall. p. 879. It is remarkable that in the treaty of truce, at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his ſon ſome weeks previous to the concluſion of it, all the ſtipulations are in the Emperor's name, and Philip is only deſigned King of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed King of Caſtile, &c. at Valladolid ſooner than the 24th of March. Sandov. ii. p. 606; and previous to that ceremony, he did not chooſe, it would ſeem, to aſſume the title of King of any of his Spaniſh Kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal juriſdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 19th, he aſſumes the title of King of Caſtile, &c. in the uſual ſtile of the Spaniſh monarchs in that age. Corps Dipl. tom. iv. Append. p. 85.

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and without diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, each ſhould retain what was in his poſſeſſion. Charles, ſenſible how much his kingdoms were exhauſted by the expenſive and almoſt continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his ſon a ſhort interval of peace, that he might eſtabliſh himſelf firmly on his throne, declared warmly for cloſing with the overture, though manifeſtly diſhonourable as well as diſadvantageous; and ſuch was the reſpect due to his wiſdom and experience, that Philip, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs to purchaſe peace by ſuch conceſſions, did not preſume to urge his opinion in oppoſition to that of his father. Book XI. 1556.

HENRY could not have heſitated one moment about giving his conſent to a truce on ſuch conditions, as would leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the greater part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conqueſt which he had made on the German frontier. But it was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch a ſtep with the engagements that he had come under to the Pope, in his late treaty with him. The Conſtable Montmorency, however, repreſented in ſuch a ſtriking light, the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to theſe raſh obligations, and took ſuch advantage of the abſence of the Cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſeduced the King into his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unſteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice laſt given him, authorized his ambaſſadors to ſign a treaty of truce with the Emperor for five years, on the terms which had been propoſed. But that he might not ſeem to have altogether forgotten his ally the Pope, who he foreſaw would be highly exaſperated, he, in order to ſooth him, took care that he ſhould be expreſly included in the truce [f]. A truce concluded. 5th Feb.

THE Count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the Admiral Coligny to Bruſſels, the former to be preſent when the King of France, and the latter when the Emperor and his ſon, ratified the treaty and bound themſelves by oath to obſerve it [g]. When an account of the confe- Ratified by both monarchs. The Pope's aſtoniſhment and diſtreſs.

[f] Mem. de Ribier. ii. 626. Corps Diplom. tom iv. App. 81.

[g] One of Admiral Coligny's attendants, who wrote to the court of France an account of what happened while they reſided at Bruſſels, takes notice, as an inſtance of Philip's impoliteneſs, that he received the French ambaſſador in an apartment hung with tapeſtry, which repreſented the battle of Pavia, the manner in which Francis I. was taken priſoner, his voyage to Spain, with all the circumſtances of his captivity and impriſonment at Madrid. Mem. de Ribier. ii. 634.

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rences at Vaucelles, and of the conditions of truce which had been propoſed there, were firſt carried to Rome, it gave the Pope no manner of diſquiet. He truſted ſo much to the honour of the French monarch, that he would not allow himſelf to think that Henry could forget ſo ſoon, or violate ſo ſhamefully, all the ſtipulations in his league with him. He had ſuch an high opinion of the Emperor's wiſdom, that he made no doubt of his refuſing his conſent to a truce on ſuch unequal terms; and on both theſe accounts he confidently pronounced that this, like many preceding negotiations, would terminate in nothing. But later and more certain intelligence ſoon convinced him that in political affairs no reaſoning is more fallacious, than, becauſe an event is improbable, to conclude that it will not happen. The ſudden and unexpected concluſion of the truce filled Paul with aſtoniſhment and terror. The Cardinal of Lorrain durſt not encounter that ſtorm of indignation, to which he knew he ſhould be expoſed from the haughty Pontiff, who had ſo good reaſon to be incenſed; but departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the Cardinal Tournon the difficult taſk of attempting to ſooth Paul and his nephews. They were fully ſenſible of the perilous ſituation in which they now ſtood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer ſecret, they had highly irritated Philip. They dreaded the violence of his implacable temper. The Duke of Alva, a miniſter, fitted as well by his abilities as by the ſeverity of his nature, for executing all Philip's rigorous ſchemes, had advanced from Milan to Naples, and began to aſſemble troops on the frontiers of the Eccleſiaſtical State. While they, if deſerted by France, muſt not only relinquiſh all the hopes of dominion and ſovereignty to which their ambition aſpired, but remain expoſed to the reſentment of the Spaniſh monarch, without one ally to protect them againſt an enemy with whom they were ſo little able to contend.

He attempts to rekindle the war.

UNDER theſe circumſtances, Paul had recourſe to the arts of negotiation and intrigue, of which the Papal court knows well how to avail itſelf in order to ward off any calamity threatened by an enemy ſuperior in power. He affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a ſtop to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. He expreſſed his warmeſt wiſhes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the

the rival Princes to embrace this favourable opportunity of ſetting on foot a negotiation for that purpoſe, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed Cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Bruſſels, and his nephew Cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The publick inſtructions given to both were the ſame; that they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the Pope's mediation, that by means of it, peace might be re-eſtabliſhed, and meaſures might be taken for aſſembling a general council. But under this ſpecious appearance of zeal for attaining objects ſo deſirable in themſelves, and ſo becoming his ſacred character to purſue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, beſides his publick inſtructions, received a private commiſſion to ſolicit the French King to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the Holy See, and he was impowered to ſpare neither entreaties, nor promiſes, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This, both the uncle and the nephew conſidered as the real end of the embaſſy; while the other ſerved to amuſe the vulgar, or to deceive the Emperor and his ſon. The Cardinal, accordingly, ſet out inſtantly for Paris, and travelled with the greateſt expedition, while Rebiba was detained ſome weeks at Rome; and when it became neceſſary for him to begin his journey, he received ſecret orders to protract it as much as poſſible, that the iſſue of Caraffa's negotiation might be known before he ſhould reach Bruſſels, and according to that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he ſhould aſſume, in treating with the Emperor and his ſon [b]. 11th May.

His negotiations for that purpoſe.

CARAFFA made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having preſented a conſecrated ſword to Henry as the protector, on whoſe aid the Pope relied in the preſent exigency, he beſought him not to diſregard the intreaties of a parent in diſtreſs, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he repreſented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of juſtice. As the Pope, from confidence in the aſſiſtance and ſupport which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken ſuch ſteps as had irritated the

[b] Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 169. Burnet Hiſt. of Reform. ii. App. 309.

King

Book XI. 1556. King of Spain, he conjured Henry not to ſuffer Paul and his family to be cruſhed under the weight of that reſentment which they had drawn on themſelves merely by their attachment to France. Together with this argument addreſſed to his generoſity, he employed another which he hoped would work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the moſt certain proſpect of ſucceſs, he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spaniſh bands had periſhed in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low-Countries; that the Emperor had left his ſon an exhauſted treaſury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch ſcarce ſeated on his throne, unpractiſed in command, odious to many of the Italian ſtates, and dreaded by all; that the Pope, who had already levied ſoldiers, would bring a conſiderable army into the field, which when joined by a ſufficient number of French troops, might by one briſk and ſudden effort, drive the Spaniards out of Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conqueſt of which had been the great object of all his predeceſſors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

Their effect. July 31. EVERY word Caraffa ſpoke made a deep impreſſion on Henry; conſcious, on the one hand, that the Pope had juſt cauſe to reproach him with not having conſulted the laws either of generoſity or of decency, when he renounced his league with him, and had agreed to the truce of Vaucelles; and eager, on the other hand, not only to diſtinguiſh his reign by a conqueſt, which three former monarchs had attempted without ſucceſs, but likewiſe to acquire an eſtabliſhment of ſuch dignity and value for one of his ſons. Reverence, however, for the oath, by which he had ſo lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles; the extreme old age of the Pope, whoſe death might occaſion an entire revolution in the political ſyſtem of Italy; together with the repreſentations of Montmorency, who repeated all the arguments that he had uſed againſt the firſt league with Paul, and pointed out the great and immediate advantages which France derived from the truce; kept Henry for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, and might poſſibly have outweighed all Caraffa's arguments. But the Cardinal was not ſuch a novice in the arts of intrigue and negotiation, as not to have expedients ready for removing

or ſurmounting all theſe obſtacles. To obviate the king's ſcruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the Pope to abſolve him from the obligation of it. By way of ſecurity againſt any danger which he might apprehend from the Pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make ſuch a nomination of Cardinals, as ſhould give Henry the abſolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the Papal chair a perſon entirely devoted to his intereſt. Book XI. 1556.

In order to counterbalance the effect of the Conſtable's opinion and influence, he employed not only the active talents of the Duke of Guiſe, and the eloquence of his brother the Cardinal of Lorrain, but the addreſs of the Queen, aided by the more powerful arts of Diana of Poitiers, who, unfortunately for France, co-operated with Catharine in this point, though ſhe took pleaſure, on almoſt every other occaſion, to thwart and mortify her. They, by their united ſolicitations, eaſily ſwayed the King, who leaned of his own accord to that ſide, towards which they wiſhed him to incline. All Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances were diſregarded; the nuncio abſolved Henry from his oath; and he ſigned a new league with the Pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low-Countries. July 31.

The Pope's violent proceedings againſt Philip.

As ſoon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair proſpect of his ſucceeding in this negotiation, he diſpatched a meſſenger after the nuncio Rebiba, with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Bruſſels. As it was now no longer neceſſary to preſerve that tone of moderation, which ſuited the character of a mediator, and which he had affected to aſſume, or to put any farther reſtraint upon his reſentment againſt Philip, he boldly threw off the maſk, and took ſuch violent ſteps as rendered a rupture unavoidable. He ſeized and impriſoned the Spaniſh envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Colonna's; and having deprived Mark Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliana, he granted that dignity, together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew the Count of Montorio. He ordered a legal information to be preſented in the conſiſtory of Cardinals againſt Philip, ſetting forth that he, notwithſtanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the Holy See, of which he held the crown of Naples, had not only afforded a retreat in his dominions to the Colonna's,

Book XI. Colonna's, whom the Pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furniſhed them with arms, and
1556. was ready, in conjunction with them, to invade the Eccleſiaſtical State in an hoſtile manner; that ſuch conduct in a vaſſal was to be deemed treaſon againſt his liege lord, the puniſhment of which was the forfeiture of his fief. Upon this the conſiſtorial advocate requeſted the Pope to take cognizance of the cauſe, and to appoint a day for hearing of it, when he would make good every article of the charge, and expect from his juſtice that ſentence which the heinouſneſs of Philip's crimes merited. Paul, whoſe pride was highly flattered with the idea of trying and paſſing judgment on ſo great a King, aſſented to his requeſt; and as if it had been no leſs eaſy to ex-
July 27. ecute than to pronounce ſentence, declared that he would conſult with the Cardinals concerning the formalities requiſite in conducting the trial [i].

Philip's ſuperſtitious ſcruples. But while Paul allowed his pride and reſentment to drive him on with ſuch headlong impetuoſity, Philip diſcovered an amazing moderation on his part. He had been taught by the Spaniſh eccleſiaſticks who had the charge of his education, a profound veneration for the Holy See. This ſentiment, which had been early infuſed, grew up with him as he advanced in years, and took full poſſeſſion of his mind, which was naturally thoughtful, ſerious, and prone to ſuperſtition. When he foreſaw a rupture with the Pope approaching, he had ſuch violent ſcruples with reſpect to the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the Vicegerent of Chriſt, and the common father of all Chriſtians, that he conſulted ſome Spaniſh divines upon that point. Though they, with the uſual dexterity of caſuiſts in accommodating their reſponſes to the circumſtances of thoſe who apply to them for direction, aſſured him that, after employing prayers and remonſtrances in order to bring the Pope to reaſon, he had full right, both by the laws of nature and of Chriſtianity, not only to defend himſelf when attacked, but to begin hoſtilities, if that were judged the moſt proper expedient, for preventing the effects of Paul's violence and injuſtice: Yet Philip ſtill deliberated and delayed, conſidering it as a moſt cruel misfortune,

[i] Pallav. lib. xiii. 178.

that

that his adminiſtration ſhould open with an attack on a perſon, whoſe ſacred function and character he ſo highly reſpected [k]. 1556.

The Duke of Alva takes the field againſt the Pope.

Sept. 5.

At laſt the Duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his maſter's ſcruples, had continued to negotiate long after he ſhould have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace, and every appearance of heſitation on his part increaſed the Pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field and entered the eccleſiaſtical territories. His army did not exceed twelve thouſand men, but it was compoſed of veteran ſoldiers, and commanded chiefly by thoſe Roman barons, whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valour of the troops, and the animoſity of their leaders who fought in their own quarrel, and to recover their own eſtates, ſupplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva ſoon became maſter of the Campagna Romana; ſome cities being ſurrendered through the cowardice of the garriſons, which conſiſted of raw ſoldiers, ill diſciplined, and worſe commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient maſters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in ſeizing the patrimony of the church, took poſſeſſion of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the Pope that ſhould be choſen to ſucceed Paul, he declared that he would immediately reſtore them.

A truce between the Pope and Philip.

The rapid progreſs of the Spaniards, whoſe light troops made inroads to the gates of Rome, filled that city with conſternation; and Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himſelf, was obliged to give way ſo far to the fears and ſolicitations of the Cardinals, as to ſend deputies to Alva in order to propoſe a ceſſation of arms. The Pope yielded the more readily, as he was ſenſible of a double advantage which might be derived from obtaining that point. It would deliver the inhabitants of Rome from their preſent terror, and would afford time for the arrival of the ſuccours which he expected from France. Nor was Alva unwilling to cloſe with the overture, both as he knew how deſirous his maſter was to terminate a war, which he had undertaken with reluctance, and as

[k] Ferrer. Hiſt. de Eſpagne ix. 373. Herrera, i. 308.

his

Book XI. his army was ſo much weakened by garriſoning the great number of towns which he had reduced, that it was ſcarce in a condition to keep the field without freſh recruits. A truce was accordingly concluded firſt for ten, and afterwards for forty days, during which, various ſchemes of peace was propoſed, and perpetual negotiations were carried on, but with no ſincerity on the part of the Pope. The return of his nephew the cardinal to Rome, the receipt of a conſiderable ſum remitted by the King of France, the arrival of one body of French troops, together with the expectation of others which had begun their march, rendered him more arrogant than ever, and baniſhed all thoughts from his mind, but thoſe of war and revenge [l].

1556.

Nov. 19.

[l] Pallav. lib. xiii. 177. Thuan. lib. xvii. 588. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 664.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK XII.

WHILE theſe operations or intrigues kept the Pope and Philip buſy and attentive, the Emperor diſentangled himſelf finally from all the affairs of this world, and ſet out for the place of his retreat. He had hitherto retained the Imperial dignity not from any unwillingneſs to relinquiſh it, for after having reſigned the real and extenſive authority that he enjoyed in his hereditary dominions, to part with the limited and often ideal juriſdiction, which belongs to an elective crown, was no great ſacrifice. His ſole motive for delay was to gain a few months, for making one trial more, in order to accompliſh his favourite ſcheme in behalf of his ſon. At the very time Charles ſeemed to be moſt ſenſible of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and when he appeared to be quitting it not only with indifference, but with contempt, the vaſt ſchemes of ambition, which had ſo long occupied and engroſſed his mind, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of it. He could not think of leaving his ſon, among the Princes of Europe, in a rank inferior to that which he himſelf had held. As he had, ſome years before, made a fruitleſs at-

1556. Charles's new attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of the Empire.

Book XII. 1556.

tempt to ſecure the Imperial crown to Philip, that by uniting it to the kingdoms of Spain, and the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, he might put it in his power to proſecute, with a better proſpect of ſucceſs, thoſe great plans, which his own infirmities had obliged him to abandon, he was ſtill unwilling to relinquiſh this flattering project as chimerical or unattainable.

Which proves unſucceſsful.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repulſe which he had formerly met with from his brother Ferdinand, he renewed his ſolicitations with freſh importunity, and during the ſummer, had tried every art, and employed every argument, which he thought could induce him to quit the Imperial throne to Philip, and to accept of the inveſtiture of ſome province, either in Italy, or in the Low-Countries, as an equivalent [a]. But Ferdinand, who was ſo firm and inflexible with regard to this point, that he had paid no regard to the ſolicitations of the Emperor, even when they were enforced with all the weight of authority, which accompanies ſupreme power, received the overture, that now came from him in the ſituation to which he had deſcended, with greater indifference, and would not deign to liſten to it. Charles, aſhamed of his own credulity in having imagined that he might accompliſh that now, which he had attempted formerly without ſucceſs, deſiſted finally from his ſcheme. He then reſigned the government of the Empire, and having transferred all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanic body, to his brother the King of the Romans, he

Auguſt 27.

executed a deed to that effect, with all the formalities, requiſite in ſuch an important tranſaction. The inſtrument of reſignation he committed to William Prince of Orange, and impowered him to lay it before the college of electors [b]

Charles ſets out for Spain.

NOTHING now remained to detain Charles from that retreat for which he languiſhed. Every thing having been prepared ſome time for his voyage, he ſet out for Zuitburg in Zealand, where the fleet had orders to rendezvous. In his way thither he paſſed through Ghent, and after ſtopping there a few days, to indulge that tender and pleaſant melancholy, which ariſes in the mind of

[a] Ambaſſades des Noailles, tom. v. 356.
[b] Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. pars i. 576.

every

every man in the decline of life, on viſiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the ſcenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth, he purſued his journey accompanied by his ſon Philip, his daughter the archdutcheſs, his ſiſters the dowager Queens of France and Hungary, Maximilian his ſon-in-law, and a numerous retinue of the Flemiſh nobility. Before he went on board, he diſmiſſed them, with marks of his attention or regard, and taking leave of Philip with all the tenderneſs of a father who embraced his ſon for the laſt time, he ſet ſail on the ſeventeenth of September under convoy of a large fleet of Spaniſh, Flemiſh, and Engliſh ſhips. He declined a preſſing invitation, from the Queen of England, to land in ſome part of her dominions, in order to refreſh himſelf, and that ſhe might have the comfort of ſeeing him once more. It cannot ſurely, ſaid he, be agreeable to a Queen to receive a viſit from a father-in-law, who is now nothing more than a private gentleman. Book XII. 1556.

His arrival and reception there.

His voyage was proſperous and agreeable, and he arrived at Laredo in Biſcay on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As ſoon as he landed, he fell proſtrate on the ground; and conſidering himſelf now as dead to the world, he kiſſed the earth, and ſaid, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he purſued his journey to Burgos, carried by his attendants ſometimes in a chair, and ſometimes in a horſe litter, ſuffering exquiſite pain at every ſtep, and advancing with the greateſt difficulty. Some of the Spaniſh nobility repaired to Burgos in order to pay court to him, but they were ſo few in number, and their attendance was ſo negligent, that Charles obſerved it, and felt, for the firſt time, that he was no longer a Monarch. Accuſtomed from his early youth to the dutiful and officious reſpect with which thoſe who poſſeſs ſovereign power are attended, he had received it with the credulity common to Princes, and was weak enough to be mortified, when he now diſcovered, that he had been indebted to his fortune, for much of that obſequious regard, which he had fondly thought was paid to his perſonal qualities. But though he might have ſoon learned to forget the levity of his ſubjects, or to have deſpiſed their neglect, he was more deeply afflicted with his ſon's ingratitude, who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, oblig-

Book XII. 1556. ed him to remain ſome weeks at Burgos, before he paid him the firſt moiety of that ſmall penſion, which was all that he had reſerved of ſo many kingdoms. As without this ſum, Charles could not diſmiſs his domeſticks with ſuch rewards as their ſervices merited, or his generoſity had deſtined for them, he could not help expreſſing both ſurpriſe and diſſatisfaction [b]. At laſt the money was paid, and Charles having diſmiſſed a great number of his domeſtics, whoſe attendance he thought would be ſuperfluous or cumberſome in his retirement, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a laſt and tender leave of his two ſiſters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his ſolitude, though they entreated it with tears, not only that they might have the conſolation of contributing by their attendance and care to mitigate or to ſooth his ſufferings, but that they might reap inſtruction and benefit by joining with him in thoſe pious exerciſes, to which he had conſecrated the remainder of his days.

The place of his retreat.

FROM Valladolid he continued his journey to Plazencia in Eſtremadura. He had paſſed through that city a great many years before, and having been ſtruck at that time with the delightful ſituation of the monaſtery of St. Juſtus belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles diſtant from that place, he had then obſerved to ſome of his attendants, that this was a ſpot to which Diocleſian might have retired with pleaſure. The impreſſion had remained ſo ſtrong on his mind, that he pitched on it as the place of his retreat. It was ſeated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees; both from the nature of the ſoil, and temperature of the climate, it was eſteemed the moſt healthful and delicious ſituation in Spain. Some months before his reſignation, he had ſent an architect thither, to add a new apartment to the monaſtery, for his accommodation; but he gave ſtrict orders that the ſtile of the building ſhould be ſuch as ſuited his preſent ſtation, rather than his former dignity. It conſiſted only of ſix rooms, four of them in the form of Friars cells, with naked walls; and the other two, each twenty feet ſquare, were hung with brown cloth, and furniſhed in the moſt ſimple manner. They were all

[b] Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. 9.

level

level with the ground; with a door on one ſide into a garden, of which Charles himſelf had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants, which he propoſed to cultivate with his own hands. On the other ſide it communicated with the chapel of the monaſtery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, ſcarce ſufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter, with twelve domeſticks only. He buried there, in ſolitude and ſilence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all thoſe vaſt projects, which, during half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being ſubjected to his power [c]. Book XII. 1556. 1557. Feb. 24.

THE contraſt between Charles's conduct, and that of the Pope at this juncture, was ſo obvious, that it ſtruck even the moſt careleſs obſervers; nor was the compariſon which they made much to Paul's advantage. The former, a conqueror, born to reign, long accuſtomed to the ſplendor which accompanies ſupreme power, and to thoſe buſy and intereſting ſcenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world, at an early period of life, that he might cloſe the evening of his days in tranquillity, and ſecure ſome interval for ſober thought, and ſerious recollection. The latter, a prieſt, who had paſſed the early part of his life in the ſhade of the ſchools, and in the ſtudy of the ſpeculative ſciences, who was ſeemingly ſo detached from the world, that he had ſhut himſelf up for many years in the ſolitude of a cloiſter, and who was not raiſed to the Papal throne until he had reached the extremity of old age, diſcovered at once all the impetuoſity of youthful ambition, and engaged in vaſt ſchemes, in order to accompliſh which, he ſcrupled not to ſcatter the ſeeds of diſcord and to kindle the flames of war in every corner of Europe. But Paul, regardleſs of the opinion and cenſures of mankind, held on his own courſe with his wonted arrogance and violence. Theſe, although they ſeemed already to have exceeded all bounds, roſe to a ſtill greater height, upon the arrival of the duke of Guiſe in Italy. Contraſt between the behaviour of Charles and the Pope.

THAT which the two Princes of Lorrain foreſaw and deſired, had happened. The duke of Guiſe was entruſt- The duke of Guiſe leads the French army into Italy.

[c] Sandov. ii. 607. & Zuniga. 110. Thuan. lib. xviii. 609.

Book XII. ed with the command of the army appointed to march to the Pope's aſſiſtance. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, of the beſt troops in the ſervice of France. So high was the Duke's reputation, and ſuch the general expectation of beholding ſome extraordinary exertion of his courage and abilities in a war, into which he had precipitated his country, chiefly with the deſign of gaining a field where he might diſplay his own talents, that many of the French nobility, who had no command in the troops employed, accompanied him as volunteers. This army paſſed the Alps in a rigorous ſeaſon, and advanced towards Rome, without any oppoſition from the Spaniards, who, as they were not ſtrong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces in one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom.

1557.

The Pope renews hoſtilities againſt Philip.

EMBOLDENED by the approach of the French, the Pope let looſe all the fury of his reſentment againſt Philip, which, notwithſtanding the natural violence of his temper, prudential conſiderations had hitherto obliged him to keep under ſome reſtraint. He named commiſſioners, whom he impowered to paſs judgment in the ſuit, which the conſiſtorial advocate had commenced againſt Philip, in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples, by taking arms againſt the Holy See, of which he was a vaſſal. He recalled all the nuncios reſident in the courts of Charles V. of Philip, or of any of their allies. This was levelled chiefly againſt Cardinal Pole, the Papal legate in the court of England, whoſe great merit, in having contributed ſo ſucceſsfully to reconcile that kingdom to the church of Rome, together with the expectation of farther ſervices that he might perform, was not ſufficient to ſcreen him from the reſentment which he had incurred by his zealous endeavours to re-eſtabliſh peace between the houſe of Auſtria and France. He commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas annually denounced againſt the enemies of the church on Maunday-Thurſday, whereby he inflicted the cenſure of excommunication on the authors of the late invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical territories, whatever their rank or dignity might be; and, in conſequence of this, the uſual prayers for the Emperor were omitted next day in the Pope's chapel [d].

February 12.

April 9.

[d] Pal. lib. xiii. 180. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 678.

BUT

Book XII. 1557.

But while the Pope indulged himſelf in theſe wild and childiſh ſallies of rage, he either neglected, or it exceeded his power, to take ſuch meaſures as would have rendered his reſentment really formidable, and fatal to his enemies. For, when the Duke of Guiſe entered Rome, where he was received with a triumphal pomp, which would have been more ſuitable if he had been returning from having terminated the war with glory, than when he was going to begin it with a doubtful chance of ſucceſs, he found none of the preparations for war in ſuch forwardneſs as Caraffa had promiſed, or he had expected. The Papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota ſtipulated; no magazines ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their ſtate had firſt led them to adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their reſolution to preſerve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of Princes ſo far their ſuperiors in power. The other Italian ſtates were either openly united in league with Philip, or ſecretly wiſhed ſucceſs to his arms againſt a Pontiff, whoſe inconſiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the ſeat of war.

His military preparations inadequate.

The Duke of Guiſe perceived that the whole weight of the war would devolve on him; and became ſenſible, though too late, how imprudent it is to rely, in the execution of great enterprizes, on the aid of feeble allies. Puſhed on, however, by the Pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own deſire of performing ſomething of what he had ſo confidently undertaken, he marched towards Naples, and began his operations. But the ſucceſs of theſe fell far ſhort of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himſelf had promiſed. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Civetella, a town of ſome importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obſtinacy with which the Spaniſh governor defended it, baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valour, and obliged Guiſe, after a ſiege of three weeks, to retire from the town with diſgrace. He endeavoured to wipe off that ſtain, by advancing boldly towards the Duke of Alva's camp, and offering him battle. But that prudent commander, ſenſible of all the advantages of ſtanding on the defenſive before an invading enemy, declined an en-

Duke of Guiſe's operations.

April 13.

Book XII. 1557.

gagement, and kept within his entrenchments; and adhering to his plan with the ſteadineſs of a Caſtilian, eluded with great addreſs all Guiſe's ſtratagems, to draw him into action [e]. Meanwhile, ſickneſs waſted the French army; violent diſſenſions had ariſen between Guiſe and the commander of the Pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incurſions into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; the Pope, when he found, inſtead of the conqueſts and triumphs which he had fondly expected, that he could not ſecure his own territories from depredation, murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guiſe, mortified to the laſt degree with having acted ſuch an inglorious part, not only ſolicited his court either to reinforce his army, or to recall him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements; and called on Cardinal Caraffa, ſometimes with reproaches, and ſometimes with threats, to make good theſe magnificent promiſes, from a raſh confidence in which he had adviſed his maſter to renounce the truce of Vaucelles, and to join in league with the Pope [f].

Hoſtilities in the Low-Countries.

But while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched ſituation, an unexpected event happened in the Low-Countries, which called the duke of Guiſe from a ſtation wherein he could acquire no honour, to the moſt dignified and important charge which could be committed to a ſubject. As ſoon as the French had diſcovered their purpoſe of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by ſending an army into Italy, but by attempting to ſurprize ſome of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to proſecute the war with ſuch ſpirit, as ſhould make his enemies ſenſible, that his father had not erred, when he judged him to be ſo capable of government, that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expence in fitting out the army under the duke of Guiſe, and that his treaſury was hardly able to anſwer the exorbitant and endleſs demands of a diſtant war, he foreſaw that all his operations in the Low-Countries muſt, of conſequence, be feeble, and be conſidered only as ſecondary to thoſe in Italy. For that rea-

[e] Herrera vida de Felipe, 181. Pallav. lib. xiii. 181. Burn. ii. app. 317.

[f] Thuan. lib. xxviii. 614.

ſon,

ſon, he prudently reſolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakeſt, and to bend his chief force againſt that quarter where they would feel a blow moſt ſenſibly. With this view, he aſſembled in the Low-Countries an army of about fifty thouſand men, the Flemings ſerving him on this occaſion with that active zeal, which ſubjects are wont to exert in obeying the commands of a new ſovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident, even at that early period of life, did not reſt all his hopes of ſucceſs on that formidable force alone.

Philip endeavours to engage England in the war.

He had been labouring for ſome time to engage the Engliſh to eſpouſe his quarrel; and though it was manifeſtly the intereſt of that kingdom to maintain a ſtrict neutrality, and the people themſelves were ſenſible of the advantages which they derived from it; though he knew how odious his name was to the Engliſh, and how averſe they would be to co-operate with him in any meaſure, he nevertheleſs did not deſpair of accompliſhing his point. He relied on the affection wherewith the Queen doated on him, which was ſo violent, that even his coldneſs and neglect had not extinguiſhed it; he knew her implicit reverence for his opinion, and her fond deſire of gratifying him in every particular. That he might work on theſe with greater facility, and more certain ſucceſs, he ſet out for England. The Queen who, during her huſband's abſence, had languiſhed in perpetual dejection, reſumed freſh ſpirits on his arrival; and without paying the leaſt attention either to the intereſt or to the inclinations of her people, entered warmly into all his ſchemes. In vain did her privy-council remonſtrate againſt the imprudence as well as danger of involving the nation in an unneceſſary war; in vain did they put her in mind of the ſolemn treaties of peace ſubſiſting between England and France, which the conduct of that nation had afforded her no pretext to violate. Mary, ſoothed by Philip's careſſes, or intimidated by the threats which his aſcendant over her emboldened him at ſome times to throw out, was deaf to every thing that could be urged in oppoſition to his ſentiments, and inſiſted with the greateſt vehemence on an immediate declaration of war againſt France. The council, though all Philip's addreſs and Mary's authority were employed to gain or overawe them, ſtruggled long, and yielded at laſt, not from conviction,

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conviction, but merely from deference to the will of their ſovereign. War was declared againſt France, the only one perhaps againſt that kingdom into which the Engliſh ever entered with reluctance. As Mary knew the averſion of the nation to this meaſure, ſhe durſt not call a parliament in order to raiſe money for carrying on the war. She ſupplied this want, however, by a ſtrain of prerogative; and levied large ſums on her ſubjects by her own authority. This enabled her to aſſemble a ſufficient body of troops, and to ſend eight thouſand men under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke to join Philip's army [g].

1557. June 20.

Operations of Philip's army in the Low-Countries.

PHILIP, who was not ambitious of military glory, gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his own reſidence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earlieſt intelligence of his motions, and to aid him with his counſels. The duke opened the campaign with a maſterly ſtroke of addreſs, which juſtified Philip's choice, and diſcovered ſuch a ſuperiority of genius over the French generals, as almoſt enſured ſucceſs in his ſubſequent operations. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops at a place conſiderably diſtant from the country which he deſtined to be the ſcene of action; and having kept the enemy in ſuſpenſe for a good time with regard to his intentions, he at laſt deceived them ſo effectually by the variety of his marches and counter-marches, that they concluded that he meant to bend all his force againſt the province of Champagne, and would attempt to penetrate into the kingdom on that ſide. In conſequence of this opinion, they drew all their ſtrength towards that quarter, and reinforcing the garriſons there, left the towns on other parts of the frontier deſtitute of troops ſufficient to defend them.

Inveſts St. Quintin.

EMANUEL, as ſoon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, turned ſuddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and ſending his cavalry, in which he was extremely ſtrong, before him, inveſted St. Quintin. This was a town deemed in that age of conſiderable ſtrength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected, the garriſon

[g] Carte iii. 337.

weakened

weakened by draughts ſent towards Champagne, did not amount to a fifth part of the number requiſite for its defence; and the governor, though a brave officer, was neither of rank, nor authority, equal to the command in a place of ſo much conſequence, beſieged by ſuch a formidable army. A few days muſt have put the Duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt ſaving a place of ſuch importance to his country, and which lay within his juriſdiction as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant reſolution of throwing himſelf into it, with ſuch a body of men as he could collect of a ſudden. This reſolution he executed with great intrepidity, and conſidering the nature of the enterprize, with no contemptible ſucceſs; for though one half of his ſmall body was cut off, he, with the other, broke through the enemy, and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of ſuch high rank and reputation, and who had expoſed himſelf to ſuch danger in order to join them, inſpired the deſponding garriſon with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great ſkill and experience in the art of war could ſuggeſt, for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens as well as the garriſon ſeconding his zeal with equal ardour, ſeemed to be determined that they would hold out to the laſt, and ſacrifice themſelves in order to ſave their country [h].

The French endeavour to relieve the town.

THE Duke of Savoy, whom the Engliſh under the Earl of Pembroke, joined about this time, puſhed on the ſiege with the greateſt vigour. An army ſo numerous, and ſo well ſupplied with every thing requiſite, carried on its approaches with great advantage againſt a garriſon which was ſtill ſo feeble that it durſt ſeldom venture to diſturb or retard the enemies operations by ſallies. The admiral, ſenſible of the approaching danger and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle the conſtable Montmorency, who had the command of the French army, with his ſituation, and pointed out to him a method by which he might throw relief into the town. The conſtable, ſolicitous to ſave a town, the loſs of which would open a paſſage for the enemy into the heart of France; and eager to extricate his nephew out of that perilous ſituation,

[h] Thuan. lib. xix. 647.

in

Book XII. 1557. in which zeal for the publick had engaged him; reſolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he deſired. With this view he marched from La Fere towards St. Quintin at the head of his army, which was not by one half ſo numerous as that of the enemy, and having given the command of a body of choſen men to Coligny's brother Dandelot who was colonel general of the French infantry, he ordered him to force his way into the town by that avenue which the admiral had repreſented as moſt practicable, while he himſelf with the mean army would give the alarm to the enemies camp on the oppoſite ſide, and endeavour to draw all their attention towards that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. His ſoldiers ruſhed on with ſuch headlong impetuoſity, that though it broke the firſt body of the enemy which ſtood in their way, it threw themſelves into the utmoſt confuſion; and being attacked by freſh troops which cloſed in upon them on every ſide, the greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about five hundred of the moſt adventrous, and moſt fortunate, making good his entrance into the town.

August 10.

The battle of St. Quintin.

MEANWHILE the Conſtable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced ſo near the camp of the beſiegers, as rendered it impoſſible to retreat with ſafety in the face of an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number. The Duke of Savoy inſtantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the preſence of mind and abilities of a great general, to avail himſelf of it. He drew up his army in order of battle, with the greateſt expedition, and watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fere, he detached all his cavalry under the command of the count of Egmont to fall on their rear, while he, at the head of his infantry, advanced to ſupport him. The French retired at firſt in perfect order, and with a good countenance; but when they ſaw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the ſhock of which they were conſcious that they could not withſtand, the proſpect of imminent danger, added to diſtruſt of their general, whoſe imprudence every ſoldier now perceived, ſtruck them with general conſternation. They began inſenſibly to quicken their pace, and thoſe in the rear began to preſs ſo violently on ſuch as were before them, that in a ſhort time their march reſembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, obſerving their confuſion, charged them with the greateſt fury, and in a moment all their Genſdarmerie,

Genſdarmerie, the pride and ſtrength of the French armies in that age, gave way and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the conſtable, by his preſence and authority, kept to their colours, ſtill continued their retreat, until the enemy brought ſome pieces of cannon to bear upon their centre, which threw them into ſuch diſorder, that the cavalry renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became univerſal. About four thouſand of the French fell in the field, and among thoſe the Duke of Anguyen a Prince of the blood, together with ſix hundred gentlemen. The Conſtable, as ſoon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, with a reſolution not to ſurvive the calamity, which his ill-conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being waſted with the loſs of blood, he was ſurrounded by ſome Flemiſh officers, to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the ſoldiers, and obliged him to ſurrender. Beſides the conſtable, the Dukes of Montpenſier and Longueville, the Marechal St. André, many officers of diſtinction, three hundred gentlemen, and near four thouſand private ſoldiers were taken priſoners. All the colours belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon, two pieces excepted, fell into the enemies hands. The victorious army did not loſe above fourſcore men [i].

1557. Total defeat of the French.

THIS battle, no leſs fatal to France than the ancient victories of Creſy and Agincourt, gained by the Engliſh on the ſame frontier, bore a more near reſemblance to theſe, in the ſuddenneſs of the rout; in the raſhneſs of the commander in chief; in the number of perſons of note ſlain or taken; and in the ſmall loſs ſuſtained by the enemy. It filled France with equal conſternation. Many inhabitants of Paris with the ſame precipitancy and trepidation, as if the enemy had been already at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the interior provinces. The King, by his preſence and exhortations, endeavoured to conſole and to animate ſuch as remained, and applying himſelf with the greateſt diligence to repair the ruinous fortifications of the city, prepared to defend it

The firſt effects of it.

[i] Thuan. 650. Haræi Annal. Brabant. ii. 692. Herrera, 291.

againſt

Book XII. 1557. againſt the attack which he inſtantly expected. But happily for France, Philip's caution, together with the intrepid firmneſs of the Admiral de Coligny not only ſaved the capital from the danger to which it was expoſed, but gained the nation a ſhort interval, during which the people recovered from the terror and dejection occaſioned by a blow no leſs ſevere than unexpected, and Henry had leiſure to take meaſures for the publick ſecurity with the ſpirit which became the ſovereign of a powerful and martial people.

Philip repairs to his army.

PHILIP, immediately after the battle, viſited the camp at St. Quintin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and ſuch were his tranſports of joy on account of an event, which threw ſo much luſtre on the beginning of his reign, that they ſoftened his ſevere and haughty temper, into an unuſual flow of courteſy. When the Duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiſs his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, "It becomes me, ſays he, rather to kiſs your hands, which have gained me ſuch a glorious and almoſt bloodleſs victory."

His deliberations concerning the proſecution of the war.

As ſoon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war was held in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the beſt advantage. The Duke of Savoy, ſeconded by ſeveral of the ableſt officers formed under Charles V. inſiſted that they ſhould immediately relinquiſh the ſiege of St. Quintin, the reduction of which was now an object below their attention, and advance directly towards Paris; that as there were neither troops to oppoſe, nor any town of ſtrength to retard their march, they might reach that capital while under the full impreſſion of the aſtoniſhment and terror occaſioned by the rout of the army, and take poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance. But Philip, leſs adventrous or more prudent than his generals, preferred a moderate but certain advantage, to an enterprize of greater ſplendour, but of more doubtful ſucceſs. He repreſented to the council the infinite reſources of a kingdom ſo powerful as France; the great number as well as martial ſpirit of its nobles; their attachment to their ſovereign; the vaſt advantages with which they could carry on war in their own territories; and the unavoidable deſtruction, which muſt be the conſequence of their penetrating

netrating too rashly into the enemy's country, before they had secured such a communication with their own, as might render a retreat safe, if upon any disasterous event that should become necessary. On all these accounts, he advised the continuance of the siege, and his generals acquiesced the more readily in his opinion, as they made no doubt of being masters of the town in a few days, a loss of time of so little consequence in the execution of their plan, that they might easily repair it by their subsequent activity [l].

St. Quintin defended by Admiral Coligny,

THE weakness of the fortifications, and the small number of the garrison, which could no longer hope either for reinforcement, or relief, seemed to authorise this calculation of Philip's generals. But, in making it, they did not attend sufficiently to the character of Admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town. A courage undismayed and undisconcerted amidst the greatest dangers, an invention fruitful in resources, a genius which rouzed and seemed to acquire new force upon every disaster, a talent of governing the minds of men, together with a capacity of maintaining his ascendant over them even under circumstances the most adverse and distressful, were qualities which Coligny possessed in a degree superior to any general of that age. These qualities were peculiarly adapted to the station in which he was now placed; and as he knew the infinite importance to his country of every hour which he could gain at this juncture, he exerted himself to the utmost in contriving how to protract the siege, and to detain the enemy from attempting any enterprize more dangerous to France. Such were the perseverance and skill with which he conducted the defence, and such the fortitude and patience with which he animated the garrison, that though the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the English, carried on the attack with all the ardour which national emulation inspires, he held out the town seventeen days. He was taken prisoner, at last, on the breach, overpowered by the superior number of the enemy.

which is taken by assault.

August 27.

Henry's measures for the defence of his kingdom.

HENRY availed himself, with the utmost activity, of the interval which the Admiral's well-timed obstinacy had afforded him. He appointed officers to collect the scattered remains of the constable's army; he issued orders

[l] Belcar. Commentar. di Reb. Gallic. 901.

for

Book XII. 1557. for levying ſoldiers in every part of the kingdom; he commanded the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces inſtantly to take the field, and to join the Duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy; he recalled the greater part of the veteran troops which ſerved under the Marechal Briſſac at Piedmont; he ſent courier after courier to the Duke of Guiſe, requiring him, together with all his army, to return inſtantly for the defence of their country; he diſpatched one envoy to the Grand Seignior, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of his fleet, and the loan of a ſum of money; he ſent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter, he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which ſerved under Philip. Theſe efforts of the King were warmly ſeconded by the zeal of his ſubjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of three hundred thouſand livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of diſtinction engaged to garriſon and to defend at their own expence the towns which lay moſt expoſed to be attacked by the enemy. Nor was this general concern for the publick confined to communities alone, or to thoſe in the higher ſphere of life, but diffuſing itſelf among perſons of every rank, each individual ſeemed diſpoſed to act with as much vigour as if the honour of the King, and the ſafety of the ſtate had depended on his perſonal efforts [m].

The victory of St. Quintin productive of few beneficial conſequences.

PHILIP, who was no ſtranger either to the prudent meaſures taken by the French monarch for the ſecurity of his dominions, or to the ſpirit with which his ſubjects prepared to defend themſelves, perceived, when it was too late, that he had loſt an opportunity which could never be recalled, and that it was now vain to think of penetrating into the heart of France, He abandoned, therefore, without much reluctance, a ſcheme which was too bold and hazardous to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper; and employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the ſieges of Ham and Catelet. Of theſe, he ſoon became maſter; and the reduction of theſe two petty towns, together with the acquiſition of St. Quintin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the moſt deciſive victories gained in

[m] Mem. de Ribier, ii. 701, 703.

that

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that century. Philip himſelf, however, continued in high exultation, on account of his ſucceſs; and as all his paſſions were tinged with ſuperſtition, he, in memory of the battle of St. Quintin, which had been fought on the day conſecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monaſtery, and a palace ſacred to that ſaint and martyr. Before the expiration of the year, he laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all theſe were united, at the Eſcurial in the neighbourhood of Madrid; and the ſame principle, which dictated the vow, directed the building. But the plan of the work was ſo formed as to reſemble a gridiron, which, according to the legendary tale, had been the inſtrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwithſtanding the vaſt and expenſive ſchemes, in which his reſtleſs ambition involved him, Philip continued the building with ſuch perſeverance for twenty-two years, and reſerved ſuch vaſt ſums for this monument of his piety and vanity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted to him for a royal reſidence, which though not the moſt elegant, is certainly the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent of any in Europe [n].

The French army recalled out of Italy.

THE firſt account of that fatal blow which the French had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had ſent to recall the Duke of Guiſe. As Paul, even with the aſſiſtance of his French auxiliaries, had ſcarce been able to check the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms, he foreſaw that as ſoon as he was deprived of their protection, his territories muſt be overrun in a moment. He remonſtrated therefore with the greateſt violence againſt the departure of the French army, reproaching the Duke of Guiſe for his ill conduct, which had brought him into ſuch an unhappy ſituation; and complaining of the King for deſerting him ſo ungeneroufly under ſuch circumſtances. Guiſe's orders, however, were peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it neceſſary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Coſmo di Medici, in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the Pope, and who, even while ſucceſs crowned his arms, doubted ſo much the juſtice of his

[n] Colmenar Annales d'Eſpagne, tom. ii. p. 136.

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own cauſe, that he had made frequent overtures of pacification, liſtened eagerly to the firſt propoſals of this nature from Paul, and diſcovered ſuch moderation in his demands as could ſcarce have been expected from a Prince elated with victory.

A treaty of peace between the Pope and Philip.

THE Duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the Cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and both being equally diſpoſed to peace, they, after a ſhort conference, terminated the war by a treaty on the following terms: That Paul ſhould renounce his league with France, and maintain for the future ſuch a neutrality as became the common father of Chriſtendom; That Philip ſhould inſtantly reſtore all the towns of the eccleſiaſtical territory of which he had taken poſſeſſion; That the claims of the Caraffa's, to the dutchy of Paliano, and other demeſnes of the Colonnas ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the republick of Venice; That the Duke of Alva ſhould repair in perſon to Rome, and after aſking pardon of Paul in his own name, and in that of his maſter, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, ſhould receive the Pope's abſolution from that crime. Thus Paul, through Philip's ſcrupulous timidity, finiſhed an unproſperous war without any detriment to the Papal See. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquiſhed retained his uſual haughtineſs, and was treated with every mark of ſuperiority [n]. The Duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and in the poſture of a ſupplicant, kiſſed the feet, and implored the forgiveneſs of that very perſon, whom his arms had reduced to the laſt extremity. Such was the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Spaniards for the Papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudeſt man of the age, and accuſtomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourſe with Princes, acknowledged that when he approached the Pope, he was ſo much overawed, that his voice failed, and his preſence of mind forſook him [o].

Philip reſtores Placentia to Octavio Farneſe.

But though this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was brought to an end without occaſioning any alteration in thoſe States, which

[n] Pallav. lib. xiii. 183. F. Paul. 380. Herrera, vol. i. 310.
[o] Pallav. lib. xiii. 185. Summonte Iſtoria di Napoli, iv. 286.

were

were its immediate object, it produced effects of conſiderable conſequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip was extremely ſolicitous to terminate his quarrel with Paul as ſpeedily as poſſible, he was willing to make any ſacrifice in order to gain thoſe Princes, who, by joining their troops to the papal and French army, might have prolonged the war. With this view, he entered into a negotiation with Octavio Farneſe, Duke of Parma, and in order to ſeduce him from his alliance with France, he reſtored to him the city of Placentia with the territory depending on it, which Charles V. having ſeized in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, had kept from that time in his poſſeſſion, and had tranſmitted together with his other dominions to Philip.

THIS ſtep made ſuch a diſcovery of Philip's character and views to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious and provident of all the Italian Princes, that he conceived hopes of accompliſhing his favourite ſcheme of adding Siena and its territories to his dominions in Tuſcany. As his ſucceſs in this attempt depended entirely on the delicacy of addreſs with which it was conducted, he employed all the refinements of policy in the negotiation which he ſet on foot for this purpoſe. He began with ſoliciting Philip, whoſe treaſury he knew to be entirely drained by the expence of the war, to repay the great ſums which he had advanced to the Emperor during the ſiege of Siena. When Philip endeavoured to elude a demand which he was unable to ſatisfy, he affected to be extremely diſquieted, and making no ſecret of his diſguſt, inſtructed his ambaſſador at Rome to open a negotiation with the Pope, which ſeemed to be the effect of it. The ambaſſador executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that Paul, imagining Coſmo to be entirely alienated from the Spaniſh intereſt, propoſed to him an alliance with France, which ſhould be cemented by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon to one of Henry's daughters, Coſmo received the overture with ſuch apparent ſatisfaction, and with ſo many profeſſions of gratitude for the high honour of which he had the proſpect, that not only the Pope's miniſters, but the French envoy at Rome talked confidently, and with little reſerve, of the acceſſion of that important ally, as a matter certain and decided. The account of this was quickly carried to Philip; and Coſmo, who foreſaw how much it would alarm him, had diſpatched his nephew Ludovico de Toledo into the Netherlands, that he

Coſmo di Medici's meaſures for obtaining Siena.

Book XII. might be at hand to obſerve and take advantage of his conſternation, before the firſt impreſſion which it made ſhould in any degree abate. Coſmo was extremely fortunate in the choice of the inſtrument whom he employed. Toledo waited, with patience, until he diſcovered with certainty, that Philip had received ſuch intelligence of his uncle's negotiations at Rome, as muſt have filled his ſuſpicious mind with fear and jealouſy; and then craving an audience, he required payment of the money which had been borrowed by the Emperor, in the moſt earneſt and peremptory terms. In urging that point, he artfully threw out ſeveral dark hints and ambiguous declarations, concerning the extremities to which Coſmo might be driven by a refuſal of this juſt demand, as well as by other grievances of which he had good reaſon to complain.

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Their ſucceſs.

PHILIP, aſtoniſhed at an addreſs in ſuch a ſtrain, from a Prince ſo far his inferior as the Duke of Tuſcany, and comparing what he now heard with the information which he had received from Italy, immediately concluded that Coſmo had ventured to aſſume this bold and unuſual tone on the proſpect of his union with France. In order to prevent the Pope and Henry from acquiring an ally, who by his abilities and the ſituation of his dominions would have added both reputation and ſtrength to their confederacy, he offered to grant Coſmo the inveſtiture of Siena, if he would conſent to accept of this, as an equivalent for the ſums due to him, and engage to furniſh a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy, againſt any power who ſhould attack them. As ſoon as Coſmo had brought Philip to this, which was the object of all his artifices and intrigues, he did not protract the negotiation by any unneceſſary delay, or any exceſs of refinement, but cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and Philip, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his ableſt counſellors, ſigned a treaty with him to that effect [P].

As no Prince was ever more tenacious of his rights than Philip, or leſs willing to relinquiſh any territory which he poſſeſſed, by what tenure ſoever he held it, theſe unuſual conceſſions to the Dukes of Parma and Tuſcany, by which he wantonly gave up countries, in acquiring or defending

[P] Thuan. lib. xviii. 624. Herrera, i. 263, 275. Pallav. lib. xiii. 180.

which,

which, his father had employed many years, and waſted much blood and treaſure, cannot be accounted for from any motive, but his ſuperſtitious deſire of extricating himſelf out of the war which he had been forced to wage againſt the Pope. By theſe treaties, however, the balance of power among the Italian ſtates was poized with greater equality, and rendered leſs variable than it had been ſince it received the firſt violent ſhock from the invaſion of Charles VIII. of France. From this period Italy ceaſed to be the great theatre, on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for power or for fame. Their diſſentions and hoſtilities were nevertheleſs as frequent and as violent as ever; but being excited by new objects, they ſtained other regions of Europe with blood, and rendered them, in their turn, miſerable by the devaſtations of war. Book XII. 1557.

THE Duke of Guiſe left Rome on the ſame day that his adverſary the Duke of Alva made his ignominious ſubmiſſions to the Pope. He was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill ſucceſs in Italy ſeemed to be forgotten, while his former ſervices, particularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praiſe; and he was welcomed in every city through which he paſſed, as the reſtorer of publick ſecurity, who, after having ſet bounds by his conduct and valour to the victorious arms of Charles V. returned now at the call of his country, to check the formidable progreſs of Philip's power. The reception which he met with from Henry was no loſs cordial and honourable. New titles were invented, and new dignities created in order to diſtinguiſh him. He was appointed lieutenant-general in chief both within and without the kingdom, with a juriſdiction almoſt unlimited, and hardly inferior to that which was poſſeſſed by the king himſelf. Thus, through the ſingular felicity which attended the Princes of Lorrain, the miſcarriage of their own ſchemes contributed to aggrandize them. The calamities of his country, and the ill conduct of his rival the Conſtable, exalted the Duke of Guiſe to a height of dignity and power, which he could not have expected to attain by the moſt fortunate and moſt compleat ſucceſs of his own ambitious projects. Sept. 29. The Duke of Guiſe's reception in France.

THE Duke of Guiſe, eager to perform ſomething ſuitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, and Takes the command of the army.

Book XII. 1557. that he might juſtify the extraordinary confidence which the King had repoſed in him, ordered all the troops, which could be got together, to aſſemble at Campiegne. Though the winter was well advanced, and had ſet in with extreme rigour, he placed himſelf at their head, and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his ſubjects, ſo many ſoldiers had been raiſed in the kingdom, and ſuch conſiderable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Swiſſerland, as formed an army reſpectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at ſeeing it put in motion at ſuch an uncommon ſeaſon, began to tremble for his new conqueſts, particularly St. Quintin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

He inveſts Calais. 1558. January 1ſt. BUT the Duke of Guiſe meditated a more important enterprize; and after amuſing the enemy with threatening ſucceſſively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned ſuddenly to the left and inveſted Calais with his whole army. Calais had been taken by the Engliſh under Edward III. and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Creſſy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extenſive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an eaſy and ſecure paſſage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping poſſeſſion of it ſoothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its ſituation was naturally ſo ſtrong, and its fortifications deemed ſo impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous ſoever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domeſtick ſtrength of England was broken and exhauſted by the bloody wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undiſturbed and unthreatened. Mary and her council, compoſed chiefly of Eccleſiaſticks, unacquainted with military affairs, and whoſe whole attention was turned towards extirpating hereſy out of the kingdom, had not only neglected to take any precautions for the ſafety of this important place, but ſeemed to think that the reputation of its ſtrength alone was ſufficient for its ſecurity. Full of this opinion, they ventured, even after the declaration of war, to continue a practice which the low ſtate of the Queen's finances had introduced in times of peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was overflowed during the winter,

winter, and the marſhes around it became impaſſable, except by one avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and Newnhambridge commanded, it had been the cuſtom of the Engliſh to diſmiſs the greater part of the garriſon towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the ſpring. In vain did Lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, remonſtrate againſt this ill-timed parſimony, and repreſent the poſſibility of his being attacked ſuddenly, while he had not troops ſufficient to man the works. The privy council treated theſe remonſtrances with ſcorn, as if they had flowed from the timidity or the rapaciouſneſs of the governor; and ſome of them, with that confidence which is the companion of ignorance, boaſted that they would defend Calais with their white rods againſt any enemy who ſhould approach it during winter [d]. In vain did Philip, who had paſſed through Calais as he returned from England to the Netherlands, warn the Queen of the danger to which it was expoſed; and acquainting her with what was neceſſary for its ſecurity, offer to reinforce the garriſon during winter with a detachment of his own troops. Mary's counſellors, though obſequious to her in all points wherein religion was concerned, diſtruſted, as much as the reſt of their countrymen, every propoſition that came from her huſband; and ſuſpecting this to be an artifice of Philip's, in order to gain the command of the town, they neglected his intelligence, declined his offer, and left Calais with leſs than a fourth of the men requiſite for its defence.

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Its defenceleſs ſtate.

It was his knowledge of this, which encouraged the Duke of Guiſe to venture on an enterprize, that ſurprized his own countrymen no leſs than his enemies. As he knew that its ſucceſs depended on conducting his operations with ſuch rapidity, as would afford the Engliſh no time for throwing relief into the town by ſea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he puſhed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on ſieges, during that age. He drove the Engliſh from Fort St. Agatha at the firſt aſſault; obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnhambridge, after defending it three days; took the caſtle which commanded the harbour by ſtorm; and on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais compelled the governor, whoſe feeble gar-

Guiſe puſhes the ſiege with vigour.

[d] Carte, iii. 345.

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riſon, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of ſuſtaining ſo many attacks, and defending ſuch extenſive works, to ſign a capitulation.

Takes the town.

THE Duke of Guiſe, without allowing the Engliſh time to recover from the conſternation occaſioned by this blow, immediately inveſted Guiſnes, the garriſon of which, though more numerous, defended itſelf with leſs vigour, and after ſtanding one briſk aſſault, ſurrendered the town. The caſtle of Hames was abandoned by the troops poſted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

The ſplendor and effect of theſe conqueſts.

THUS, in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of St. Quintin had ſo depreſſed the ſanguine ſpirit of the French, that their utmoſt aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conqueſts on the enemy; the enterprizing valour of one man drove the Engliſh out of Calais, after they had held it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom, where their dominions had been once ſo extenſive. This exploit, at the ſame time that it gave an high idea of the power and reſources of France to all Europe, ſet the Duke of Guiſe, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conqueſts with immoderate tranſports of joy; while the Engliſh gave vent to all the paſſions, which animate a high-ſpirited people, when any great national calamity is manifeſtly owing to the ill conduct of their rulers. Mary and her miniſters, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her ſevere and arbitrary adminiſtration could not reſtrain them from uttering execrations and threats againſt thoſe who, having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was no wiſe intereſted, had, by their negligence or incapacity, brought irreparable diſgrace on their country, and loſt the moſt valuable poſſeſſion belonging to the Engliſh crown.

THE French King imitated the conduct of its former conqueror, Edward III. with regard to Calais. He commanded all the Engliſh inhabitants to quit the town, and, giving their houſes to his own ſubjects, whom he allured to ſettle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garriſon, under an experienced governor, for their defence. After this, his victorious army went into quarters of refreſhment, and the uſual inaction of winter returned.

MEANWHILE

MEANWHILE Ferdinand aſſembled the college of Electors at Frankfort, in order to lay before them the deed whereby Charles V. had reſigned the Imperial crown, and transferred it to him. This he had hitherto delayed, on account of ſome difficulties which had occurred concerning the formalities requiſite in ſupplying a vacancy occaſioned by an event, to which there was no parallel in the annals of the Empire. Theſe being at length adjuſted, the Prince of Orange executed the commiſſion with which he had been intruſted by Charles; the Electors accepted of his reſignation; declared Ferdinand his lawful ſucceſſor; and put him in poſſeſſion of all the enſigns of the Imperial dignity.

1558. Feb. 24. Charles's reſignation of the Imperial crown.

BUT when the new Emperor ſent Guſman, his chancellor, to acquaint the Pope with this tranſaction, to teſtify his reverence towards the Holy See, and to ſignify that, according to form, he would ſoon diſpatch an ambaſſador extraordinary to treat with his holineſs concerning his coronation; Paul, whom neither experience nor diſappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to ſuch a moderate ſtandard as ſuited the genius of the times, refuſed to admit the envoy into his preſence, and declared all the proceedings at Frankfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the Pope, as the vicegerent of Chriſt, was intruſted with the keys both of celeſtial and terreſtrial government; that from him the Imperial juriſdiction was derived; that though his predeceſſors had authorized the Electors to chooſe an Emperor, whom the Holy See confirmed, this privilege was confined to thoſe caſes when a vacancy was occaſioned by death; that the inſtrument of Charles's reſignation had been preſented in an improper court, as it belonged to the Pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and to nominate a perſon to ſupply his place; that, ſetting aſide all theſe objections, Ferdinand's election laboured under two defects, which alone were ſufficient to render it void, for the Proteſtant Electors had been admitted to vote, tho', by their apoſtacy from the catholick faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; that Ferdinand, by ratifying the conceſſions of ſeveral Diets in favour of hereticks, had rendered himſelf unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was inſtituted for the protection, not for the deſtruction of the church. But, after thundering out theſe extravagant

The Pope refuſes to acknowledge Ferdinand as Emperor.

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extravagant maxims, he added, with an appearance of condeſcenſion, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Frankfort, make profeſſions of repentance for his paſt conduct, and ſupplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's reſignation, as well as his aſſumption to the Empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodneſs. Guſman, though he had laid his account with conſiderable difficulties in his negotiation with the Pope, little expected that he would have revived theſe antiquated and wild pretenſions, which aſtoniſhed him ſo much that he ſcarce knew in what tone he ought to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controverſy concerning the nature or extent of the papal juriſdiction, and, confining himſelf to the political conſiderations, which ſhould determine the Pope to recognize an Emperor already in poſſeſſion, he endeavoured to place theſe in ſuch a light, as he imagined could ſcarce fail to ſtrike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own intereſt. Philip ſeconded Guſman's arguments with great earneſtneſs, by an ambaſſador whom he ſent to Rome of purpoſe, and beſought the Pope to deſiſt from claims ſo unſeaſonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the Princes of the Empire, but furniſh the enemies of the Holy See with a new reaſon for repreſenting its juriſdiction as incompatible with the rights of Princes, and ſubverſive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend any conſideration ſuggeſted by human prudence or policy, when he thought himſelf called to aſſert the prerogatives of the Papal See, remained inflexible; and, during his pontificate, Ferdinand was not acknowledged as Emperor by the court of Rome [z].

Henry endeavours to excite the Scots againſt England.

WHILE Henry was preparing for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the iſſue of his negotiations in Scotland. Long experience having at laſt taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the ſolicitations of his ambaſſador, nor the addreſs and authority of the Queen-regent, could prevail on them to

[z] Godleveus de Abdicat. Car. V. ap. Gold. polit. Imp. 392. Pallav. lib. xiii. 189. Ribier. ii. 746, 759.

take

take arms againſt a kingdom, with which they were at peace. On this occaſion, the ardor of a martial nobility and of a turbulent people, was reſtrained by regard for the publick intereſt and tranquillity, which, in former deliberations of this kind, had been ſeldom attended to, by a nation always prone to ruſh into every new war. But though the Scots adhered with ſteadineſs to their pacific ſyſtem, they were extremely ready to gratify the French King in another particular, which he had given in charge to his ambaſſador. Book XII. 1558.

THE young Queen of Scots had been affianced to the Dauphin, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight, and having been educated ſince that time in the court of France, ſhe had grown up to be the moſt amiable, and one of the moſt accompliſhed Princeſſes in that age. Henry demanded the conſent of her ſubjects to the celebration of the marriage, and a parliament which was held for that purpoſe, appointed eight commiſſioners to repreſent the whole body of the nation at that ſolemnity, with power to ſign ſuch deeds as might be requiſite before it was concluded. In ſettling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took all the precautions, that prudence could dictate, in order to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French uſed every art to ſecure to the Dauphin the conduct of affairs during the Queen's life, and the ſucceſſion of the crown on the event of her demiſe. The marriage was celebrated with pomp, ſuitable to the dignity of the parties, and the magnificence of a court, at that time, the moſt ſplendid in Europe [P]. Thus Henry, in the courſe of a few months, had the glory of recovering an important poſſeſſion which anciently belonged to the crown of France, and of adding to it the acquiſition of a new kingdom. By this event, too, the Duke of Guiſe acquired new conſideration and importance; the marriage of his niece to the apparent heir of the crown, raiſing him ſo far beyond the condition of other ſubjects, as ſeemed to render the credit he had gained by his great actions, no leſs permanent than it was extenſive. Marriage of the Dauphin with the Queen of Scots. April 14.

WHEN the campaign opened, ſoon after the Dauphin's marriage, the Duke of Guiſe was placed at the The campaign opened.

[P] Keith's hiſtory of Scotland, p. 73. Append. 13. Corps Diplom. v. 21.

head

Book XII. head of the army with the ſame unlimited powers as formerly. Henry had received ſuch liberal ſupplies from his ſubjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhauſted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to diſmiſs ſo many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head againſt him. The Duke of Guiſe did not loſe the favourable opportunity which his ſuperiority afforded him. He inveſted Thionville in the dutchy of Luxemburg, one of the ſtrongeſt towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighbourhood to Metz; and, notwithſtanding the obſtinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate after a ſiege of three weeks [a].

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June 22.

The French army defeated at Gravelines.

But the ſucceſs of this enterprize, which it was expected would lead to other conqueſts, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries, The Marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without oppoſition, inveſted Dunkirk with an army of fourteen thouſand men, and took it by ſtorm on the fifth day of the ſiege. From that he advanced towards Nieuport, which muſt have ſoon fallen into his hands, if the approach of the Count of Egmont with a ſuperior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French troops were ſo much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk, or by ravaging the open country, that they moved ſlowly; and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with ſuch rapidity, that he came up with them near Gravelines, and attacked them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. De Termes, who had the choice of the ground, having poſted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the ſea, received him with great firmneſs. Victory remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, the deſperate valour of the French, who foreſaw the unavoidable deſtruction that muſt follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalancing the ſuperior number of the Flemings, when one of thoſe accidents, to which human prudence does not extend, decided the conteſt in favour of the latter. A ſquadron of Engliſh

[a] Thuan. lib. xx. 690.

ſhips

ſhips of war, which was cruizing on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing towards the place of engagement, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns againſt the right wing of the French, with ſuch effect as immediately broke that body, and ſpread terror and confuſion through their whole army. The Flemings, to whom aſſiſtance, ſo unexpected and ſo ſeaſonable, gave freſh ſpirit, redoubling their efforts, that they might not loſe the advantage which fortune had preſented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation, the rout of the French ſoon became univerſal. Near two thouſand were killed on the ſpot; a greater number fell by the hands of the peaſants, who, in revenge for the cruelty with which their country had been plundered, purſued the fugitives and maſſacred them without mercy; the reſt were taken priſoners, together with de Termes their general, and many officers of diſtinction [q].

The Duke of Guiſe oppoſed to the victorious army.

THIS ſignal victory, for which the Count of Egmont was afterwards ſo ill requited by Philip, obliged the Duke of Guiſe to relinquiſh all other ſchemes, and to haſten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy there. This diſaſter reflected new luſtre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whoſe arms victory always attended, and in whoſe conduct as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guiſe's army with ſo many troops, drawn from the adjacent garriſons, that it ſoon amounted to forty thouſand men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the Duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number. They encamped at the diſtance of a few leagues from one another; and each monarch having joined his reſpective army, it was expected that, after the viciſſitudes of good and bad ſucceſs during this and the former campaign, a deciſive battle would at laſt determine which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them diſcovered any inclination to bring the deciſion of a point of ſuch importance to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous iſſue of ſingle battle. The fatal engagements at St. Quintin and Gravelines were too recent to be ſoon forgotten, and the

[q] Thuan. lib. xx. 694.

proſpect

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proſpect of encountering the ſame troops, commanded by the ſame generals, who had twice triumphed over his arms, inſpired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him. Philip, of a genius averſe to bold operations in war, naturally leaned to cautious meaſures, and would hazard nothing againſt a general, ſo fortunate and ſucceſsful as the Duke of Guiſe. Both monarchs, as if by agreement, ſtood on the defenſive, and fortifying their camps carefully, avoided every ſkirmiſh or rencounter that might bring on a general engagement.

WHILE the armies continued in this inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip diſcovered an inclination to liſten to any overture that tended to reſtabliſh it. The kingdoms of France and Spain had been engaged during half a century in almoſt continual wars, carried on at a great expence and productive of no conſiderable advantage to either. Exhauſted by extraordinary and unceaſing efforts, which far exceeded thoſe to which the nations of Europe had been accuſtomed before the rivalſhip between Charles V. and Francis I. both nations longed ſo much for an interval of repoſe, in order to recruit their ſtrength, that their ſovereigns drew from them with difficulty the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on hoſtilities. The private inclinations of both the Kings concurred with thoſe of their people. Philip was prompted to wiſh for peace by his fond deſire of returning to Spain. Accuſtomed from his infancy to the climate and manners of that country, he was attached to it with ſuch extreme predilection, that he was unhappy in any other part of his dominions. But as he could not either with decency or ſafety quit the Low-Countries, and venture on a voyage to Spain, during the continuance of war, the proſpect of a pacification which would put it in his power to execute this favourite ſcheme, was highly acceptable. Henry was no leſs deſirous of being delivered from the burden and avocations of war, that he might have leiſure to turn all his attention, and bend the whole force of his government towards ſuppreſſing the opinions of the Reformers, which were ſpreading with ſuch rapidity in Paris and other great towns of France, that they began to grow formidable to the eſtabliſhed church.

An intrigue in the court of France facilitates it.

BESIDES theſe publick and avowed conſiderations, ariſing from the ſtate of the two hoſtile kingdoms, or from the wiſhes of their reſpective monarchs, there was a ſecret

a ſecret intrigue carried on in the court of France, which contributed as much as either of the other, to haſten and to facilitate the negotiation of a peace. The Conſtable Montmorency, during his captivity, beheld the rapid ſucceſs and growing favour of the Duke of Guiſe, with the envious ſolicitude of a rival. Every advantage gained by him, he conſidered as a freſh wound to his own reputation, and he knew with what malevolent addreſs it would be improved, to diminiſh his credit with the King, and to augment that of the Duke of Guiſe. Theſe arts, he was afraid, might, by degrees, work on the eaſy and ductile mind of Henry, ſo as to efface all remains of his ancient affection towards him. But he could not diſcover any remedy for this, unleſs he were allowed to return home, that he might try whether, by his preſence, he could defeat the artifices of his enemies, and revive thoſe warm and tender ſentiments which had long attached Henry to him, with a confidence ſo entire, as reſembled rather the cordiality of private friendſhip, than the cold and ſelfiſh connection between a monarch and one of his courtiers. While Montmorency was forming ſchemes and wiſhes for his return to France with much anxiety of mind, but with little hope of ſucceſs, an unexpected incident prepared the way for it. The Cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſhared with his brother in the King's favour, and participated of the power which that conferred, did not bear proſperity with the ſame diſcretion as the Duke of Guiſe. Intoxicated with their good fortune, he forgot how much they had been indebted for their preſent elevation to their connexions with the Dutcheſs of Valentinois, and vainly aſcribed all to the extraordinary merit of their family. This led him not only to neglect his benefactreſs, but to thwart her ſchemes, and to talk with a ſarcaſtick liberty of her character and perſon. That ſingular woman, who, if we may believe contemporary writers, retained the beauty and charms of youth at the age of three-ſcore, and on whom it is certain that Henry ſtill doated with all the fondneſs of love, felt this injury with ſenſibility, and ſet herſelf with eagerneſs to revenge it. As there was no method of ſupplanting the Princes of Lorrain ſo effectually, as by a coalition of intereſts with the Conſtable, ſhe propoſed the marriage of her grand-daughter with one of his ſons, as the bond of their

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their future union, and Montmorency readily gave his consent to the match. Having thus cemented their alliance, the dutchess employed all her influence with the King in order to confirm his inclinations towards peace, and to induce him to take the steps necessary for attaining it. She insinuated that any overture of that kind would come with great propriety from the Constable, and if committed to the conduct of his prudence, could hardly fail of success.

Henry commits the negotiation to Montmorency.

HENRY, long accustomed to devolve all affairs of importance on the Constable, and needing only this encouragement to return to his ancient habits, wrote to him immediately with his usual familiarity and affection, impowering him, at the same time, to take the first opportunity of sounding Philip and his ministers with regard to peace. Montmorency made his application to Philip by the most proper channel. He opened himself to the Duke of Savoy, who, notwithstanding the height of preferment to which he had been raised, and the military glory which he had acquired in the Spanish service, was weary of remaining in exile, and languished to return into his dominions. As there was no prospect of his recovering possession of these by force of arms, he considered a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain, as the only event by which he could hope to obtain restitution. Being no stranger to Philip's private wishes with regard to peace, he easily prevailed on him not only to discover a disposition on his part towards accommodation, but to permit Montmorency to return, on his parole, to France, that he might confirm his own sovereign in his pacifick sentiments. Henry received the Constable with the most flattering marks of regard; absence, instead of having abated or extinguished his friendship, seemed to have given it new ardour; and he assumed, from the moment of his appearance in court, a higher place, if possible, in his affection, and a more perfect ascendant over his mind, than ever. The Cardinal of Lorrain and Duke of Guise, prudently gave way to a tide of favour too strong for them to oppose, and confining themselves to their proper departments, permitted, without any struggle, the Constable and dutchess of Valentinois to direct publick affairs at their pleasure. They soon prevailed on the King to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Philip did the same. The

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abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congreſs; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a ſuſpenſion of arms. Book XII. 1558.

WHILE theſe preliminary ſteps were taking towards a treaty which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whoſe ambition had ſo long diſturbed it, ended his days in the monaſtery of St. Juſtus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed ſuch a plan of life for himſelf, as would have ſuited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat but plain; his domeſtics few; his intercourſe with them familiar; all the cumberſome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his perſon were entirely aboliſhed, as deſtructive of that ſocial eaſe and tranquillity which he courted in order to ſooth the remainder of his days. As the mildneſs of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government procured him, at firſt, a conſiderable remiſſion from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete ſatisfaction in this humble ſolitude, than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had ſo long engroſſed and diſquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind: Far from taking any part in the political tranſactions of the Princes of Europe, he reſtrained his curioſity even from any inquiry concerning them; and he ſeemed to view the buſy ſcene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indifference ariſing from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleaſing reflection of having diſentangled himſelf from its cares.

His amuſements in his retreat.

OTHER amuſements, and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; ſometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horſe, the only one that he kept, attended by a ſingle ſervant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of theſe more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who reſided near the monaſtery to viſit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himſelf in ſtudying the principles and in forming curious works of mechaniſm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the moſt ingenious artiſts of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured

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together with him in framing models of the moſt uſeful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their reſpective powers, and it was not ſeldom that the ideas of the monarch aſſiſted or perfected the inventions of the artiſt. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with ſlighter and more fantaſtick works of mechaniſm, in faſhioning puppets, which by the ſtructure of internal ſprings, mimicked the geſtures and actions of men, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of the ignorant monks, who beholding movements, which they could not comprehend, ſometimes diſtruſted their own ſenſes, and ſometimes ſuſpected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with inviſible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the conſtruction of clocks and watches, and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is ſaid, with a mixture of ſurprize and regret on his own folly, in having beſtowed ſo much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a preciſe uniformity of ſentiment concerning the intricate and myſterious doctrines of religion.

His more ſerious occupations.

But in what manner ſoever Charles diſpoſed of the reſt of his time, he conſtantly reſerved a conſiderable portion of it for religious exerciſes. He regularly attended divine ſervice in the chapel of the monaſtery, every morning and evening; he took great pleaſure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Auguſtine and St. Bernard; and converſed much with his confeſſor, and the prior of the monaſtery on pious ſubjects. Thus did Charles paſs the firſt year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly diſengaged from the affairs of the preſent life, and ſtanding on the confines of a future world either in innocent amuſements, which ſoothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with exceſſive application to buſineſs; or in devout occupations, which he deemed neceſſary in preparing for another ſtate.

The cauſes of his death.

But about ſix months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermiſſion than uſual, returned with a proportional increaſe of violence. His ſhattered conſtitution had ſcarce vigour enough remaining to withſtand ſuch a ſhock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from that period we ſcarce diſcern any traces of that ſound and maſculine underſtanding, which diſtinguiſhed Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid

mid ſuperſtition depreſſed his ſpirit. He had no reliſh for amuſements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monaſtick auſterity. He deſired no other ſociety than that of monks, and was almoſt continually employed with them in chanting the hymns in the Miſſal. As an expiation for his ſins, he gave himſelf the diſcipline in ſecret with ſuch ſeverity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the inſtrument of his puniſhment, was found after his deceaſe tinged with his blood. Nor was he ſatisfied with theſe acts of mortification, which, however ſevere, were not unexampled. The timorous and diſtruſtful ſolicitude which always accompanies ſuperſtition ſtill continued to diſquiet him, and depreciating all that he had done, prompted him to aim at ſomething extraordinary, at ſome new and ſingular act of piety that would diſplay his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon, as any that ſuperſtition ever ſuggeſted to a weak and diſordered fancy. He reſolved to celebrate his own obſequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monaſtery. His domeſticks marched thither in funeral proceſſion, with black tapers in their hands. He himſelf followed in his ſhroud. He was laid in his coffin, with much ſolemnity. The ſervice for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the reſt of his ſoul, mingling his tears with thoſe which his attendants ſhed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony cloſed with ſprinkling holy water on the coffin in the uſual form, and all the aſſiſtants retiring, the doors of the chapel were ſhut. Then Charles aroſe out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of theſe awful ſentiments, which ſuch a ſingular ſolemnity was calculated to inſpire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impreſſion which this image of death left on his mind, affected him ſo much, that the next day he was ſeized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long reſiſt its violence, and he expired on the twenty-firſt of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, ſix months, and twenty-five days [d].

[d] Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. p. 11. Thuan. 723. Sandov. ii. 609, &c. Miniana Contin. Marianæ, vol. iv. 216. Veray Zuniga vida de Carlos, p. 111.

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1558. His character.

As Charles was the firſt prince of the age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we conſider the greatneſs, the variety, or the ſucceſs of his undertakings, was the moſt conſpicuous. It is from an attentive obſervation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praiſes of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, or the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the French, that a juſt idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to be collected. He poſſeſſed qualities ſo peculiar, as ſtrongly mark his character, and not only diſtinguiſh him from the Princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that ſuperiority over them which he ſo long maintained. In forming his ſchemes, he was, by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and conſiderate. Born with talents, which unfolded themſelves ſlowly, and were late in attaining maturity, he was accuſtomed to ponder every ſubject that demanded his conſideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a ſerious application, undiverted by pleaſure, and hardly relaxed by any amuſement, he revolved it, in ſilence, in his own breaſt. He then communicated the matter to his miniſters, and after hearing their opinions, took his reſolution with a deciſive firmneſs, which ſeldom follows ſuch ſlow conſultations. In conſequence of this, Charles's meaſures, inſtead of reſembling the deſultory and irregular ſallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a conſiſtent ſyſtem, in which all parts were arranged, the effects were foreſeen, and the accidents were provided for. His promptitude in execution was no leſs remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He conſulted with phlegm, but he acted with vigour; and did not diſcover greater ſagacity in his choice of the meaſures which it was proper to purſue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his purſuit of them ſucceſsful. Though he had naturally ſo little of the martial turn, that during the moſt ardent and buſtling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet when he choſe at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was ſo formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired ſuch knowledge in the art of war, and ſuch talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and ſucceſs to the moſt able generals of the age. But Charles poſſeſſed, in the moſt eminent degree, the

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ſcience which is of the greateſt importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no miniſter in the cabinet, no ambaſſador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whoſe abilities were inadequate to the truſt which he repoſed in them. Though deſtitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his perſon, he was no ſtranger to the virtues which ſecure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their ſervices with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor diſcovered any jealouſy of their power. Almoſt all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, who have attained the higheſt eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be aſcribed ſo manifeſtly to the ſuperior abilities of the commanders whom he ſet in oppoſition to them, that this might ſeem to detract in ſome degree, from his own merit, if the talent of diſcovering and employing ſuch inſtruments were not the moſt undoubted proof of a capacity for government.

THERE were, nevertheleſs, defects in his political character which muſt conſiderably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was inſatiable; and though there ſeems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of eſtabliſhing an univerſal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his deſire of being diſtinguiſhed as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which exhauſted and oppreſſed his ſubjects, and left him little leiſure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every Prince who makes the happineſs of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the Imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houſes of Auſtria and Burgundy, this opened to him ſuch a vaſt field of enterprize, and engaged him in ſchemes ſo complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of theſe, he had often recourſe to low artifices unbecoming his ſuperior talents, and ſometimes ventured on ſuch deviations from integrity

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as were dishonourable in a great Prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of his contemporaries Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers, must be ascribed, in some degree, to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and carried on upon a concerted plan. Persons who act in the former manner naturally pursue the end in view without assuming any disguise, or displaying much address. Such as hold the latter course are apt, in forming as well as in executing their designs, to employ such refinements, as always lead to artifice in conduct and often degenerate into deceit.

THE circumstances transmitted to us, with respect to Charles's private deportment and character, are fewer and less interesting, than might have been expected, from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. These are not the object of this history, which aims at representing the transactions of the reign of Charles V. not at delineating his private virtues or defects.

Conference in order to peace.

MEANWHILE the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain and England continued their conferences at Cercamp; and though each of them, with the usual art of negotiators, made at first very high demands in name of their respective courts, yet as they were all equally desirous of peace, they would have consented reciprocally to such abatements and restrictions of their claims as must have removed every obstacle to an accommodation. The death of Charles V. was a new motive with Philip to hasten the conclusion of a treaty, as it increased his impatience for returning into Spain, where there was now no person greater or more illustrious than himself. But in spite of the concurring wishes of all the parties interested, an event happened which occasioned an unavoidable delay in their negotiations. About a month after the opening of the conferences at Cercamp, Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign, and Elizabeth her

Nov. 17. Death of Mary of England.

her ſiſter was immediately proclaimed Queen by the Engliſh with univerſal joy. As the powers of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their miſtreſs, they could not proceed until they received a commiſſion and inſtructions from their new ſovereign. Book XII. 1558.

HENRY and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal ſolicitude. As during Mary's jealous adminiſtration, under the moſt difficult circumſtances, and in a ſituation extremely delicate, ſhe had conducted herſelf with prudence and addreſs far exceeding her years, they had conceived an high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her ſiſter. Equally ſenſible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs ſet themſelves with emulation to court it, and employed every art in order to inſinuate themſelves into her confidence. Each of them had ſomething meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her ſiſter's violence ſhould force her to fly for ſafety out of England. Philip had, by his powerful interceſſion, prevented Mary from proceeding to the moſt fatal extremities againſt her. Each of them endeavoured now, to avail himſelf of the circumſtances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth ſoon after her acceſſion with the warmeſt expreſſions of regard and friendſhip. He repreſented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her huſband and fond compliance with all his wiſhes. He intreated her to diſengage herſelf from an alliance which had proved ſo unfortunate to England, and to conſent to a ſeparate peace with him, without mingling her intereſts with thoſe of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to loſe his connection with England, the importance of which during a rupture with France he had ſo recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of eſteem for Elizabeth, and in profeſſions of his reſolution to cultivate the ſtricteſt amity with her, but in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himſelf to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a diſpenſation from the Pope to that effect. Henry and Philip court Elizabeth her ſucceſſor.

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Elizabeth's deliberations concerning her conduct.

ELIZABETH weighed the propoſals of the two Monarchs attentively, and with that provident diſcernment of her true intereſts which was conſpicuous in all her deliberations. She gave ſome encouragement to Henry's overture of a ſeparate negotiation, becauſe it opened a channel of correſpondence with France, which ſhe might find to be of great advantage, if Philip ſhould not diſcover ſufficient zeal and ſolicitude for ſecuring to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But ſhe ventured on this with the utmoſt reſerve and caution, that ſhe might not alarm Philip's ſuſpicious temper, and loſe an ally in attempting to gain an enemy [e]. Henry himſelf, by an unpardonable act of indiſcretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourſe with him to ſuch a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time he was courting Elizabeth's friendſhip with the greateſt aſſiduity, he yielded with an inconſiderate facility to the ſolicitations of the Princes of Lorrain, and allowed his daughter-in-law the Queen of Scots to aſſume the title and arms of England. This ill-timed pretenſion, the ſource of many calamities to the unfortunate Queen of Scots, extinguiſhed at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place diſtruſt, reſentment and antipathy. Elizabeth found that ſhe muſt unite her intereſts cloſely with Philip's, and expect peace only from negotiations carried on in conjunction with him [f].

She impowers her ambaſſadors to treat of peace.

As ſhe had granted a commiſſion, immediately after her acceſſion, to the ſame plenipotentiaries whom her ſiſter had employed, ſhe now inſtructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no ſtep until they had previouſly conſulted with them [g]. But though ſhe deemed it prudent to aſſume this appearance of confidence in the Spaniſh Monarch, ſhe knew preciſely how far to carry it; and diſcovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary propoſal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The Engliſh had expreſſed ſo openly the deteſtation of her ſiſter's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to have exaſperated them by renewing that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's

[e] Forbes i. p. 4.

[f] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 11. Carte's Hiſt. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 375. [g] Forbes's full view, i. 1. 37. 40.

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harſh imperious temper, to think of him for a huſband. Nor could ſhe admit a diſpenſation from the Pope to be ſufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catherine of Arragon, and acknowledging of conſequence that her mother's marriage was null, and her own birth illegitimate. But though ſhe determined not to yield to Philip's addreſſes, the ſituation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; ſhe returned her anſwer, therefore, in terms which were evaſive, but ſo tempered with reſpect, that, though they gave him no reaſon to be ſecure of ſucceſs, they did not altogether extinguiſh his hopes. Book XII. 1558.

Negotiations at Chateau-Cambreſis.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe concealed her ſentiments and intentions concerning religion, for ſome time after her acceſſion, ſhe ſo far gained upon Philip, that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed to Chateau-Cambreſis. A definitive treaty, which was to adjuſt the claims and pretenſions of ſo many Princes, required the examination of ſuch a variety of intricate points, and led to ſuch infinite and minute details, as drew out the negotiations to a great length. But the Conſtable Montmorency exerted himſelf with ſuch indefatigable zeal and induſtry, repairing alternately to the courts of Paris and Bruſſels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, that all points in diſpute were adjuſted, at length, in ſuch a manner, as to give entire ſatisfaction, in every particular, to Henry and Philip; and the laſt hand was ready to be put to the treaty between them. 1559. February 6.

Difficulties with regard to the claims of England.

The claims of England remained as the only obſtacle to retard it. Elizabeth demanded the reſtitution of Calais, in the moſt peremptory tone, as an eſſential condition of her conſenting to peace; Henry refuſed to give up that important conqueſt; and both ſeemed to have taken their reſolution with unalterable firmneſs. Philip warmly ſupported Elizabeth's pretenſions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the Engliſh nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had loſt by eſpouſing his cauſe; nor ſolely with a view of ſoothing Elizabeth by this manifeſtation of zeal for her intereſt; but in order to render France leſs formidable, by ſecuring to her ancient enemy this eaſy acceſs into the heart of the kingdom. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments

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ments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, ſoon began to relax. During the courſe of the negotiation, Elizabeth, who now felt herſelf firmly ſeated on her throne, began to take ſuch open and vigorous meaſures not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now deſperate. From that period, his interpoſitions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from regard to decorum, or from the conſideration of remote political intereſts. Elizabeth, having reaſon to expect ſuch an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconſiſtent with her ſchemes of domeſtick adminiſtration, than the continuance of a war with France, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmitting to ſuch conditions as the ſituation of her affairs impoſed, and that ſhe muſt lay her account with being deſerted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if ſhe did not ſpeedily reduce her demands to what was moderate and attainable. She accordingly gave new inſtructions to her ambaſſadors; and Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators between the French and them [h], an expedient was fallen on, which juſtified, in ſome degree, Elizabeth's departing from the rigour of her firſt demand with regard to Calais. All leſſer articles were ſettled without much diſcuſſion or delay. Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the Engliſh, inſiſted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth ſhould be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and him. The one was ſigned on the ſecond day of April, the other on the day following.

Articles of peace between France and England.

THE treaty of peace between France and England contained no articles of real importance, but that which reſpected Calais. It was ſtipulated that the King of France ſhould retain poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; that, at the expiration of that term, he ſhould reſtore it to England; that in caſe of non-performance, he ſhould forfeit five hundred thouſand crowns, for the payment of which

[h] Forbes, i. 59.

ſum,

ſum, ſeven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his ſubjects, ſhould grant ſecurity; that five perſons of diſtinction ſhould be given as hoſtages till that ſecurity were provided; that, although the forfeit of five hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid, the right of England to Calais ſhould ſtill remain entire, in the ſame manner as if the term of eight years were expired; that the King and Queen of Scotland ſhould be included in the treaty; that if they, or the French King, ſhould violate the peace by any hoſtile action, Henry ſhould be obliged inſtantly to reſtore Calais; that on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry and the King and Queen of Scots were abſolved from all the engagements which they had come under by this treaty.

The views of both parties with reſpect to theſe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſtudied attention with which ſo many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the reſtitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly poſſible that ſhe could maintain, during the courſe of eight years, ſuch perfect concord both with France and Scotland, as not to afford Henry ſome pretext for alledging that ſhe had violated the treaty. But even if that term ſhould elapſe without any ground for complaint, Henry might then chooſe to pay the ſum ſtipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of aſſerting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth ſatisfied her ſubjects of every denomination; ſhe gave men of diſcernment a ſtriking proof of her addreſs, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent; and amuſed the multitude, to whom the final ſurrender of a place of ſuch importance would have appeared altogether infamous, with the proſpect of recovering in a ſhort time that favourite poſſeſſion.

An expedient which promotes peace between France and Spain.

THE expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip, who ſupplanted his ſon, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that Princeſs had been promiſed in the former conferences at Cercamp, the other between Margaret, Henry's only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. For feeble as the ties of blood often are among Princes, or how little ſoever they may regard them when puſhed

on

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on to act by motives of ambition, they assume on other occasions the appearance of being so far influenced by these domestick affections, as to employ them to justify measures and concessions which they find to be necessary, but know to be impolitic or dishonourable. Such was the use Henry made of the two marriages to which he gave his consent. Having secured an honourable establishment for his sister and his daughter, he, in consideration of these, granted terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The terms of pacification;

THE principal articles in the treaty between France and Spain were, That a sincere and perpetual amity should be established between the two crowns and their respective allies; that the two monarchs should labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy, and restore unity and concord to the Christian church; that all conquests made by either party, on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war in one thousand five hundred and fifty-one, should be mutually restored; that the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly subject to the dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz and Villanova excepted, of which Henry should keep possession until his claims on that Prince, in right of his grand-mother, should be heard and decided in course of law; that as long as Henry retained these places in his hands, Philip should be at liberty to keep garrisons in the towns of Vercelli and Asti; that the French King should immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuscany and the Sianese, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should restore the Marquisate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica; that none of the Princes or states, to whom these cessions were made, should call their subjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but should bury all past transactions in oblivion. The Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal,

tugal, the King and Queen of Scots, and almoſt every Prince and ſtate in Chriſtendom, were comprehended in this pacification as the allies either of Henry or of Philip [i].

which eſtabliſhes tranquillity in Europe.

THUS, by this famous treaty, peace was re-eſtabliſhed in Europe. All the cauſes of diſcord which had ſo long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had tranſmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, ſeemed to be wholly removed, or finally terminated: The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an ambitious miniſter, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful miſtreſs, that ſhe might gratify her reſentment, had ſeduced their too eaſy monarch. They exclaimed loudly againſt the folly of giving up to the enemies of France, an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low-Countries or in Italy, in return for the three inſignificant towns of St. Quintin, Ham and Catelet. They conſidered it as an indelible ſtain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce in one day territories ſo extenſive, and ſo capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wreſt them out of their hands, after many years of victory and ſucceſs.

The peace between France and Spain.

BUT Henry, without regarding the ſentiments of his people, or being moved by the remonſtrances of his council, ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had ſtipulated to perform. The duke of Savoy repaired with a numerous retinue to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's ſiſter. The duke of Alva was ſent to the ſame capital, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to eſpouſe Elizabeth in name of his maſter. They were received with extraordinary magnificence by the French court. Amidſt the rejoicings and feſtivities on that occaſion, Henry's days were cut ſhort by a ſingular and tragical accident. His ſon, Francis II. a Prince under age, of a feeble conſtitution, and of a mind ſtill weaker, ſucceeded him. Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious Pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and diſguſted even with his own nephews. They, perſecuted by Philip, and deſerted by the ſucceeding Pope, whom they had raiſed by their influence to the Papal throne, were condemned to the puniſhment which

Death of Henry. July 10.

Auguſt 18.

[i] Recueil des Traitez, t. ii. 287.

their

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their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous, as their lives had been criminal. Thus all the perſonages, who had long ſuſtained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe, diſappeared about the ſame time. A more known period of hiſtory opens at this æra; other actors appear on the ſtage, with different views and different paſſions; new conteſts aroſe, and new ſchemes of ambition occupied and diſquieted mankind.

A general review of the whole period.

UPON reviewing the tranſactions of any active period, in the hiſtory of civilized nations, the changes which are accompliſhed appear wonderfully diſproportioned to the efforts which have been exerted. Conqueſts are never very extenſive or rapid, but among nations, whoſe progreſs in improvement is extremely unequal. When Alexander the Great, at the head of a gallant people, of ſimple manners, and formed to war by admirable military inſtitutions, invaded a ſtate ſunk in luxury, and enervated by exceſſive refinement; when Genchizcan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations, enfeebled by the climate in which they lived, or by the arts and commerce which they cultivated, they, like a torrent, ſwept every thing before them, ſubduing kingdoms and provinces in as ſhort ſpace of time, as was requiſite to march through them. But when nations are in a ſimilar ſtate, and keep pace with each other in their advances towards refinement, they are not expoſed to the calamity of ſudden conqueſt. Their acquiſitions of knowledge, their progreſs in the art of war, their political ſagacity and addreſs, are nearly equal. The fate of ſtates in this ſituation, depends not on a ſingle battle. Their internal reſources are many and various. Nor are they themſelves alone intereſted in their own ſafety, or active in their own defence. Other ſtates interpoſe, and balance any temporary advantage which either party may have acquired. After the fierceſt and moſt lengthened conteſt, all the rival nations are exhauſted, none are conquered. At length a peace is concluded, which reinſtates each in poſſeſſion of almoſt the ſame power, and the ſame territories.

The nations of Europe in a ſimilar ſtate during the ſixteenth century.

SUCH was the ſtate of Europe during the reign of Charles V. No Prince was ſo much ſuperior to the reſt in power, as to render his efforts irreſiſtible, and his conqueſts eaſy. No nation had made progreſs in improvement ſo far beyond its neighbours, as to have acquired a very

very manifeſt pre-eminence. Each ſtate derived ſome advantage, or was ſubject to ſome inconvenience, from its ſituation or its climate; each was diſtinguiſhed by ſomething peculiar in the genius of its people, or the conſtitution of its government. But the advantages poſſeſſed by one, were counterbalanced by circumſtances favourable to others; and this prevented any from attaining ſuch ſuperiority as might have been fatal to all. The nations of Europe in that age, as in the preſent, were like one great family; there were ſome features common to all, which fixed a reſemblance; there were certain peculiarities conſpicuous in each, which marked a diſtinction. But there was not among them that wide diverſity of character and of genius which, in almoſt every period of hiſtory, hath exalted the Europeans above the inhabitants of the other quarters of the globe, and ſeems to have deſtined the one to rule, and the other to obey.

A remarkable change in the ſtate of Europe, during the reign of Charles V.

BUT though the near reſemblance and equality in improvement among the different nations of Europe, prevented the reign of Charles V. from being diſtinguiſhed by ſuch ſudden and extenſive conqueſts, as occur in ſome other periods of hiſtory, yet, during the courſe of his adminiſtration, all the conſiderable ſtates in Europe ſuffered a remarkable change in their political ſituation, and felt the influence of events, which have not hitherto ſpent their force, but ſtill continue to operate in a greater or in a leſs degree. It was during his reign, and in conſequence of the perpetual efforts to which his enterprizing ambition rouzed them, that the different kingdoms of Europe acquired internal vigour, that they diſcerned the reſources of which they were poſſeſſed, that they came both to feel their own ſtrength, and to know how to render it formidable to others. It was during his reign, too, that the different kingdoms of Europe, formerly ſingle and disjoined, became ſo thoroughly acquainted, and ſo intimately connected with each other, as to form one great political ſyſtem, in which each took a ſtation, wherein it has remained ſince that time with leſs variation, than could have been expected after the events of two active centuries.

The progreſs of the houſe of Auſtria.

THE progreſs, however, and acquiſitions of the houſe of Auſtria, were not only greater than thoſe of any other power, but more diſcernible and conſpicuous. I have already enumerated the vaſt territories which deſcended to Charles

Book XII. Charles from his Auſtrian, Burgundian, and Spaniſh anceſtors [k]. To theſe he himſelf added the Imperial dignity; and, as if all this had been too little, the bounds of the univerſe were extended, and a new world ſubjected to his command. Upon his reſignation, the Burgundian provinces, and the Spaniſh kingdoms with their dependencies, both in the old and new worlds, devolved to Philip. But Charles tranſmitted his dominions to his ſon, in a condition very different from that in which he had received them. They were augmented by the acceſſion of new provinces; they were habituated to obey an adminiſtration which was no leſs vigorous than ſteady; they were accuſtomed to expenſive and perſevering efforts, which, though neceſſary in the conteſts between civilized nations, had been little known in Europe before the ſixteenth century. The provinces of Frieſland, Utrecht and Overyſſel, which he acquired by purchaſe from their former proprietors, and the dutchy of Gelders, of which he made himſelf maſter, partly by force of arms, and partly by the arts of negotiation, were additions of great value to his Burgundian dominions. Ferdinand and Iſabella had tranſmitted to him all the provinces of Spain, from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal; but as he maintained a perpetual peace with that kingdom, amidſt the various efforts of his enterprizing ambition, he made no acquiſition of territory in that quarter.

Particularly in Spain. CHARLES had gained, however, a vaſt acceſſion of power in this part of his dominions. By this ſucceſs in the war with the commons of Caſtile, he exalted the regal prerogative on the ruins of the privileges of the people. Though he allowed the name of the Cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued, he reduced its authority and juriſdiction to nothing, and modelled it in ſuch a manner, that it became rather a junto of the ſervants of the crown, than an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people. One member of the conſtitution being thus lopped off, it was impoſſible but that the other muſt feel the ſtroke, and ſuffer by it. The ſuppreſſion of the popular power rendered the ariſtocratical leſs formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike ſpirit of the age, or allured by the honours which they enjoyed in a court, exhauſted their fortunes in mi-

[k] Vol. i. p. 307.

litary

litary ſervice, or in attending on the perſon of their Prince. They did not dread, perhaps did not obſerve, the dangerous progreſs of the royal authority, which leaving them the vain diſtinction of being covered in preſence of their ſovereign, ſtripped them by degrees of that real power which they poſſeſſed while they formed one body, and acted in concert with the people. Charles's ſucceſs in aboliſhing the privileges of the commons, and in breaking the power of the nobles of Caſtile, encouraged Philip to invade the liberties of Aragon, which were ſtill more extenſive. The Caſtilians, accuſtomed to ſubjection themſelves, aſſiſted in impoſing the yoke on their more happy and independant neighbours. The will of the ſovereign became the ſupreme law in all the kingdoms of Spain; and Princes who were not checked in their plans by the jealouſy of the people, nor controled in the executing them by the power of the nobles, could both aim at great objects and call forth the whole ſtrength of the monarchy in order to attain them.

Alſo in other parts of Europe.

As Charles, by extending the regal prerogative, rendered the monarchs of Spain maſters at home, he added new dignity and power to their crown by his foreign acquiſitions. He ſecured to Spain the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand had uſurped by fraud, and held with difficulty. He united the dutchy of Milan, one of the moſt fertile and populous provinces in Italy, to the Spaniſh crown; and left his ſucceſſors, even without taking their other territories into the account, the moſt conſiderable Princes in that country, which had been long the theatre of contention to the great powers of Europe, and in which they had ſtruggled with emulation to obtain the ſuperiority. When the French, in conſequence of the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, withdrew their forces out of Italy, and finally relinquiſhed all their ſchemes of conqueſt on that ſide of the Alps, the Spaniſh dominions there roſe in importance, and enabled their Kings, as long as the monarchy retained any degree of vigour, to preſerve the chief ſway in all the tranſactions of that country. But whatever acceſſion either of interior authority or of foreign dominion Charles gained for the monarchs of Spain in Europe, it was inconſiderable when compared with his acquiſitions in the new world. He added, there, not provinces, but empires to his crown. He conquered territories of ſuch

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immenſe extent; he diſcovered ſuch inexhauſtible veins of wealth, and opened ſuch boundleſs proſpects of every kind, as muſt have rouzed and called forth to action his ſucceſſor, tho' his ambition had been much leſs ardent than Philip's, and muſt have rendered him not only enterprizing but formidable.

Progreſs of the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria.

WHILE the elder branch of the Auſtrian family roſe to ſuch pre-eminence in Spain, the younger, of which Ferdinand was the head, grew to be conſiderable in Germany. The ancient hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, united to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which Ferdinand had acquired by marriage, formed a reſpectable power, and when the Imperial dignity was added to theſe, Ferdinand poſſeſſed territories more extenſive than had belonged to any Prince, Charles V. excepted, who had been at the head of the Empire during ſeveral ages. Fortunately for Europe, the diſguſt which Philip conceived, on account of Ferdinand's refuſing to relinquiſh the Imperial crown in his favour, not only prevented for ſome time the ſeparate members of the houſe of Auſtria from acting in concert, but occaſioned a viſible alienation and rivalſhip. By degrees, however, regard to the intereſt of their family extinguiſhed this impolitic animoſity. The confidence which was natural returned; the aggrandizing of the houſe of Auſtria became the common object of all their ſchemes; they gave and received aſſiſtance alternately towards the execution of them; and each derived conſideration and importance from the other's ſucceſs. A family ſo great and ſo aſpiring became the general object of jealouſy and terror. All the power as well as policy of Europe were exerted during a century, in order to check and humble it. Nothing can give a more ſtriking idea of the aſcendant which it had acquired, and of the terror which it had inſpired, than that after its vigour was ſpent with extraordinary exertions of its ſtrength, after Spain was become only the ſhadow of a great name, and its monarchs were ſunk into debility and dotage, the houſe of Auſtria ſtill continued to be formidable. The nations of Europe had ſo often felt its ſuperiour power, and had been ſo conſtantly employed in guarding againſt it, that the dread of it became a kind of political habit, the influence of which remained when the cauſes, which had formed it, ceaſed to exiſt.

WHILE

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Acquiſition of the Kings of France during the reign of Charles V.

WHILE the houſe of Auſtria went on with ſuch ſucceſs in enlarging its dominions, France made no conſiderable acquiſition of new territory. All its ſchemes of conqueſt in Italy had proved abortive; it had hitherto obtained no eſtabliſhment of conſequence in the new world; and after the continued and vigorous efforts of four ſucceſſive reigns, the confines of the kingdom were much the ſame as Louis XI. had left them. But though France made not ſuch large ſtrides towards dominion as the houſe of Auſtria, it continued to advance by ſteps which were more ſecure, becauſe they were gradual and leſs obſerved. The conqueſt of Calais put it out of the power of the Engliſh to invade France but at their utmoſt peril, and delivered the French from the dread of their ancient enemies, who, previous to that event, could at any time penetrate into the kingdom by that avenue, and thereby retard or defeat the execution of their beſt concerted enterprizes againſt any foreign power. The important acquiſition of Metz covered that part of their frontier which formerly was moſt feeble, and lay moſt expoſed to inſult. France, from the time of its obtaining theſe additional ſecurities againſt external invaſion, muſt be deemed the moſt powerful kingdom in Europe, and is more fortunately ſituated than any on the continent either for conqueſts or defence. From the confines of Artois to the bottom of the Pyrenees, and from the Britiſh channel to the frontiers of Savoy and the coaſt of the Mediterranean, its territories lay compact and unmingled with thoſe of any other power. Several of the conſiderable provinces, which, by their having been long ſubject to the great vaſſals of the crown, who were often at variance or at war with their maſter, had contracted a ſpirit of independence, were now accuſtomed to recognize and to obey one ſovereign. As they became members of the ſame monarchy, they aſſumed the ſentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and co-operated with zeal towards promoting its intereſt and honour. The power and influence wreſted from the nobles were ſeized by the crown. The people were not admitted to ſhare in theſe ſpoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legiſlature. It was not for the ſake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had laboured to humble their great vaſſals. Satisfied with having

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ing brought them under entire ſubjection to the crown, they diſcovered no ſolicitude to free the people from their ancient dependance on the nobles of whom they held.

Enables them to aſſume an higher ſtation among the powers of Europe.

A MONARCH, at the head of a kingdom thus united at home and ſecure from abroad, was entitled to form great deſigns, becauſe he felt himſelf in a condition to execute them. The foreign wars which had continued with little interruption from the acceſſion of Charles VIII. had not only cheriſhed and augmented the martial genius of the nation, but by inuring the troops during the courſe of long ſervice to the fatigues of war, and accuſtoming them to obedience, had added the force of diſcipline to their natural order. A gallant and active body of nobles who conſidered themſelves as idle and uſeleſs, unleſs when they were in the field; who were ſcarce acquainted with any paſtime or exerciſe but what was military; and who knew no road to power, or fame, or wealth, but war, would not have ſuffered their ſovereign to remain long in inaction. The people, little acquainted with the arts of peace, and always ready to take arms at the command of their ſuperiours, were accuſtomed by the vaſt expence of long wars, carried on in diſtant countries, to bear impoſitions, which, how inconſiderable ſoever they may ſeem if eſtimated by the exorbitant rate of modern actions, appear immenſe when compared with the ſums levied in France, or in any other country of Europe, previous to the reign of Louis XI. As all the members of which the ſtate was compoſed were thus impatient for action, and capable of great efforts, the ſchemes and operations of France muſt have been no leſs formidable to Europe than thoſe of Spain. The ſuperior advantages of its ſituation, the contiguity and compactneſs of its territories, together with the peculiar ſtate of its political conſtitution at that juncture muſt have rendered its enterpriſes ſtill more alarming and more deciſive. The King poſſeſſed ſuch a degree of power as gave him the entire command of his ſubjects; the people were ſtrangers to thoſe occupations and habits of life which render men averſe to war, or unfit for it; and the nobles, tho' reduced to ſubordination neceſſary in a regular government, ſtill retained the high undaunted ſpirit which was the effect of their ancient independence. The vigour of the Feudal times remained, their anarchy was at an end; and the Kings of France could avail themſelves of the martial ardour which that ſingular

ſingular inſtitution had kindled or kept alive, without being expoſed to any of the dangers or inconveniencies which are inſeparable from it when in entire force.

Circumſtances which prevented the immediate effects of their power.

A KINGDOM in ſuch a ſtate is, perhaps, capable of greater military efforts, than at any other period in its progreſs. But how formidable ſoever or fatal to the other nations of Europe, the power of ſuch a monarchy might have been, the civil wars which broke out in France, ſaved them at that juncture from feeling its effects. Theſe wars, of which religion was the pretext and ambition the cauſe; wherein great abilities were diſplayed by the leaders of the different factions, and little conduct or firmneſs were manifeſted by the crown under a ſucceſſion of weak Princes, kept France occupied and embroiled for half a century. During theſe commotions, the internal ſtrength of the kingdom was much waſted, and ſuch a ſpirit of anarchy was ſpread among the nobles, to whom rebellion was familiar, and the reſtraint of laws unknown, that a conſiderable interval became requiſite, not only for recruiting the internal vigour of the nation, but for re-eſtabliſhing the authority of the Prince; ſo that it was long before France could turn her whole attention towards foreign tranſactions, or act with her proper force in foreign wars. It was long before ſhe roſe to that aſcendant in Europe, which ſhe has maintained ſince the adminiſtration of Cardinal Richlieu, and which the ſituation as well as extent of the kingdom, the nature of her government, and the character of her people, entitle her to maintain.

Progreſs of England with reſpect to its interior ſtate.

WHILE the kingdoms on the continent grew into power and conſequence, England likewiſe made conſiderable progreſs towards regular government and interior ſtrength. Henry VIII. probably without intention, and certainly without any conſiſtent plan, of which his nature was incapable, purſued the ſcheme of depreſſing the nobility, which the policy of his father Henry VII. had begun. The pride and caprice of his temper led him to employ chiefly new men in the adminiſtration of affairs, becauſe he found them moſt obſequious, or leaſt ſcrupulous; and he not only conferred on theſe ſuch plenitude of power, but exalted them to ſuch pre-eminence in dignity, as mortified and degraded the ancient nobility. By the alienation or ſale of the church lands, which were diſſipated with a profuſion not inferior to the rapaciouſneſs with which they had been ſeized, as well as by the

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privilege granted by the ancient landholders of ſelling their eſtates, or diſpoſing of them by will, an immenſe property, formerly locked up, being brought into circulation, put the ſpirit of induſtry and commerce in motion, and gave it ſome conſiderable degree of vigour. The road to power and to opulence became open to perſons of every condition. A ſudden and exceſſive flow of wealth from the Weſt Indies proved fatal to induſtry in Spain; a moderate acceſſion in England to the ſum in circulation gave life to commerce, awakened the ingenuity of the nation, and excited it to uſeful enterprize. In France, what the nobles loſt the crown gained. In England, the commons were gainers as well as the King. Power and influence accompanied of courſe the property which they acquired. They roſe to conſideration among their fellow ſubjects; they began to feel their own importance; and extending their influence in the legiſlative body gradually, and often when neither they themſelves nor others foreſaw all the effect of their claims and pretenſions, they at laſt attained that high authority, to which the Britiſh conſtitution is indebted for the exiſtence, and muſt owe the preſervation of its liberty. At the ſame time that the Engliſh conſtitution advanced towards perfection, ſeveral inſtances brought on a change in the ancient ſyſtem with reſpect to foreign powers, and introduced another more beneficial to the nation. By diſclaiming the ſupremacy and juriſdiction of the Papal See, conſiderable ſums were ſaved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained, by remittances to Rome for diſpenſations and indulgences, or in order to defray the expence of pilgrimages into foreign countries [g], or by payment of annates, firſt fruits, and a thouſand other taxes which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The idea of a juriſdiction different from the civil power, and claiming not only to be independent but ſuperior to it, a wild ſoleciſm in government, apt not only to perplex and diſquiet weak minds, but

[g] The loſs which the nation ſuſtained by moſt of theſe articles is obvious, and muſt have been great. Even that by pilgrimages was not inconſiderable. In the year 1428, licenſe was obtained by no fewer than 916 perſons to viſit the ſhrine of St. James of Compoſtella in Spain. Rymer, vol. x. In 1434, the number of pilgrims to the ſame place was 2460. Ibid. In 1445, they were 2100. vol. xi.

tending

tending directly to disturb society, was finally abolished. Government became more simple as well as more respectable, when no rank or character exempted any person from being amenable to the same courts, from being tried by the same judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the same laws. Book XII.

By the loss of Calais the English were excluded from the continent. All schemes for invading France became of course as chimerical as they had formerly been pernicious. The views of the English were confined, first by necessity, and afterwards from choice, within their own island. That rage for conquest which had possessed the nation during many centuries, and wasted its strength in perpetual and fruitless wars, at length ceased. Those active spirits which had known and followed no profession but war, sought for occupation in the arts of peace, and their country benefited as much by the one as it had suffered by the other. The nation, exhausted by frequent expeditions to the continent, recruited, and acquired new strength; and when rouzed by any extraordinary exigency to take part in foreign operations, the vigour of its efforts were proportionally great, because they were only occasional and of a short continuance. With respect to the affairs of the continent.

The same principle which had led England to adopt this new system with regard to the powers on the continent, occasioned a change in its plan of conduct with respect to Scotland, the only foreign state, with which, on account of its situation in the same island, the English had such a close connection as demanded their perpetual attention. Instead of prosecuting the ancient scheme of conquering that kingdom, which the nature of the country, defended by a brave and hardy people, rendered dangerous if not impracticable; it appeared more eligible to endeavour at obtaining such influence in Scotland as might exempt England from any danger or disquiet from that quarter. The national poverty of the Scots, together with the violence and animosity of their factions, rendered the execution of this plan easy to a people far superior to them in wealth. Their popular leaders were gained; the ministers and favourites of the crown were corrupted; and such absolute direction of their councils acquired, as rendered the operations of the one kingdom dependant in a great measure on the sovereign of the other. Such perfect external security added to the in- With respect to Scotland.

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terior advantages which England now poſſeſſed, muſt ſoon have raiſed it to new conſideration and importance; the long reign of Elizabeth, equally conſpicuous for wiſdom, for ſteadineſs, and for vigour, accelerated its progreſs, and carried it with greater rapidity towards that elevated ſtation which it hath ſince held among the powers of Europe.

Changes in the political ſtate of the ſecondary powers in Europe.

DURING the period in which the political ſtate of the great kingdoms underwent ſuch changes, revolutions of conſiderable importance happened in that of the ſecondary or inferior powers. Thoſe in the Papal court are moſt obvious, and of more extenſive conſequence.

The moſt conſiderable revolution of the ſixteenth century in the court of Rome.

IN the Preliminary Book, I have mentioned the riſe of that ſpiritual juriſdiction which the Popes claim as Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, and have traced the progreſs of that authority which they poſſeſs as temporal Princes [a]. There was nothing previous to the reign of Charles V. that tended to circumſcribe or to moderate their authority, but ſcience and philoſophy, which began to revive and to be cultivated. The progreſs of theſe, however, was ſtill inconſiderable; they always operate ſlowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people, or can produce any ſenſible effect upon them. They may perhaps gradually, and in a long courſe of years, undermine and ſhake an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of falſe religion, but there is no inſtance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demoliſh thoſe fabricks which ſuperſtition raiſes on deep foundations, and can ſtrengthen with the moſt conſummate art.

The general revolt againſt the doctrines of the church of Rome, and the power of the Popes.

LUTHER had attacked the Papal ſupremacy with other weapons, and with an impetuoſity more formidable. The time and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumſtances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate ſucceſs. The charm which had bound mankind for ſo many ages was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and paſſive, as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was impoſed, roufed of a ſudden and became inquiſitive, mutinous, and diſdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto ſubmitted. That wondeful ferment and agitation of mind, which, at this diſtance of time, appears unaccountable or is con-

[a] Vol. I. p. 104.

demned

demned as extravagant, was ſo general, that it muſt have been excited by cauſes which were natural and of powerful efficacy. The Kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England and Scotland, and almoſt one half of Germany threw off their allegiance to the Pope, aboliſhed his juriſdiction within their territories, and gave the ſanction of law to modes of diſcipline and ſyſtems of doctrine which were not only independent of his power, but hoſtile to it. Nor was this ſpirit of innovation confined to thoſe countries which openly revolted from the Pope; it ſpread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France and made progreſs apace. The number of converts to the opinions of the Reformers was ſo great, their zeal ſo enterprizing, and the abilities of their leaders ſo diſtinguiſhed, that they ſoon ventured to contend for ſuperiority with the eſtabliſhed church, and were ſometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany, which continued to acknowledge the Papal ſupremacy, as well as in the Low-Countries, the Proteſtant doctrines were ſecretly taught, and had gained ſo many proſelytes, that they were ripe for revolt, and were reſtrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbours, and aſſerting their independence. Even in Spain and in Italy, ſymptoms of the ſame diſpoſition to ſhake off the yoke appeared. The pretenſions of the Pope to infallible knowledge and ſupreme power were treated by many perſons of eminent learning and abilities with ſuch ſcorn, or impugned with ſuch vehemence, that the moſt vigilant attention of the civil magiſtrate, the higheſt ſtrains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of the inquiſitorial juriſdiction were requiſite to check and extinguiſh it.

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THE defection of ſo many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the Papal See, was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the Popes in extent, it diminiſhed their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to beſtow on the eccleſiaſticks of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as by ties of intereſt, and whom they employed as inſtruments to eſtabliſh or ſupport their uſurpations in every part of Europe. The countries too which now diſclaimed their authority, were thoſe which formerly had been moſt devoted to it. The empire of ſuperſtition differs

This abridged the extent of the Pope's dominions,

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differs from every other ſpecies of dominion; its power is often greateſt, and moſt implicitly obeyed in the provinces moſt remote from the ſeat of government; while ſuch as are ſituated nearer to that are more apt to diſcern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impoſtures on which it is founded. The perſonal frailties or vices of the Popes, the errors as well as corruption of their adminiſtration, the ambition, venality and deceit which reigned in their court, fell immediately under the obſervation of the Italians, and could not fail of diminiſhing that reſpect which begets ſubmiſſion. But in Germany, England, and the more remote countries, theſe were either altogether unknown, or being only known by report, made a ſlighter impreſſion. Their veneration for the Papal dignity increaſed with their diſtance from Rome; and that, added to their groſs ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and paſſive. In tracing the progreſs of the Papal domination, the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful inſtances of encroachment are to be found in Germany and other countries diſtant from Italy. In theſe its impoſitions were heavieſt, and its exactions the moſt rapacious; ſo that in eſtimating the diminution of power which the court of Rome ſuffered in conſequence of the Reformation, not only the number but the character of the people who revolted, not only the great extent of territory, but the extraordinary obſequiouſneſs of the ſubjects which it loſt, muſt be taken into the account.

and obliged them to change the ſpirit of their government.

NOR was it only by this defection of ſo many kingdoms and ſtates which it occaſioned, that the Reformation contributed to diminiſh the power of the Roman Pontiffs. It obliged them to adopt a different ſyſtem of conduct towards the nations which continued to recognize their juriſdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder ſpirit. The Reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they ſeem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhauſted. They became afraid of venturing on any ſuch exertion of their authority as might alarm or exaſperate their ſubjects, and excite them to a new revolt. They ſaw a rival church eſtabliſhed in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to obſerve any errors in their adminiſtration, and eager to expoſe them. They were ſenſible that the opinions adverſe to their power and uſurpations

uſurpations were not confined to their enemies alone, but had ſpread even among the people who ſtill adhered to them. Upon all theſe accounts, it was no longer poſſible to lead and to govern their flock in the ſame manner as in thoſe dark and quiet ages, when faith was implicit, when ſubmiſſion was unreſerved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their ſhepherd. From the æra of the Reformation, the Popes have ruled rather by addreſs and management than by authority. The ſtile of their decrees is the ſame, but the effect of them is very different. Thoſe Bulls and Interdicts which, before the Reformation, made the greateſt Princes tremble, have ſince that period been diſregarded or deſpiſed by the moſt inconſiderable. Thoſe bold deciſions and acts of juriſdiction which, during many ages, not only paſſed uncenſured, but were revered as the awards of a ſacred tribunal, would, ſince Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be deteſted by the other as impious and unjuſt. The Popes, in their adminiſtration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themſelves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay ſome regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They ſeldom venture to claim new powers, or even to inſiſt obſtinately on their ancient prerogatives, leſt they ſhould irritate the former; they carefully avoid every meaſure that may either excite the indignation or draw on them the deriſion of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious, circumſpect, and timid, as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretenſions to infallibility, on which all their authority is founded, does not allow them to renounce any juriſdiction which they have at any time claimed or exerciſed, they find it expedient to ſuffer many of their prerogatives to lie dormant, and not to expoſe themſelves by ill-timed attempts towards reviving theſe, to the riſque of loſing that remainder of power which they ſtill enjoy. Before the ſixteenth century, the Popes were the movers and directors in every conſiderable enterprize; they were at the head of every great alliance; and being conſidered as arbiters of the affairs of Chriſtendom, the court of Rome was the centre of political negotiation and intrigue. From that time, the greateſt operations in Europe have been carried on independent of them; they have ſunk almoſt to a level with the other petty Princes of Italy; they

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continue to claim, though they dare not exerciſe, the ſame ſpiritual juriſdiction, but ſcarce retain any ſhadow of the temporal power which they anciently poſſeſſed.

The Reformation contributed to improve the church both in ſcience and morals.

But how fatal ſoever the Reformation may have been to the power of the Popes, it contributed to improve the church of Rome both in ſcience and in morals. The deſire of equalling the reformers in thoſe talents which had procured them reſpect; the neceſſity of acquiring the knowledge requiſite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents; together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the Roman Catholic clergy to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of uſeful ſcience, which they cultivated with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, that they have gradually become as eminent in literature, as they were in ſome periods infamous for ignorance. The ſame principle occaſioned a change no leſs conſiderable in the manners of the clergy of the Romiſh church. Various cauſes which have formerly been enumerated, had concurred in introducing great irregularity, and even diſſolution of manners among the Popiſh clergy. Luther and his adherents began their attack on the church with ſuch vehement invectives againſt theſe, that in order to remove the ſcandal, and ſilence their declamations, greater decency of conduct became neceſſary. The Reformers themſelves were ſo eminent not only for the purity but even auſterity of their manners, and had acquired ſuch reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman Catholick Clergy muſt have ſoon loſt all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform in ſome meaſure to their ſtandard. They knew that all their actions fell under the ſevere inſpection of the Proteſtants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to obſerve every vice, or even impropriety in their conduct; to cenſure them without indulgence, and to expoſe them without mercy. This rendered them, of courſe, not only cautious to avoid ſuch enormities as might give offence, but ſtudious to acquire the virtues that might merit praiſe. In Spain and Portugal, where the tyrannical juriſdiction of the Inquiſition cruſhed the Proteſtant faith as ſoon as it appeared, the ſpirit of Popery continues invariable; ſcience has made ſmall progreſs, and the character of eccleſiaſtics has undergone little change. But in thoſe countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have carried on any conſiderable intercourſe,

courſe, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas as well as in the morals of the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, is manifeſt. In France, the manners of the Dignitaries and ſecular clergy have become decent and exemplary in an high degree. Many of them have been diſtinguiſhed for all the accompliſhments and virtues which can adorn their profeſſion; and differ greatly from their predeceſſors before the Reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

The effects of it extend to the character of the Popes themſelves.

NOR has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman Catholick Church; it has extended to the See of Rome, to the ſovereign Pontiffs themſelves. Violations of decorum, and even treſpaſſes againſt morality, which paſſed without cenſure in thoſe ages, when neither the power of the Popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds; when there was no hoſtile eye to obſerve the errors in their conduct, and no adverſaries zealous to inveigh againſt them; would be liable now to the ſevereſt animadverſion, and excite general indignation or horror. Inſtead of rivalling the courts of temporal Princes in gaiety, and ſurpaſſing them in licentiouſneſs, the Popes have ſtudied to aſſume manners more ſevere and more ſuitable to their eccleſiaſtical character. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted, during two centuries, by any Pontiff that reſembled Alexander VI. or ſeveral of his predeceſſors, who were a diſgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long ſucceſſion of Popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is obſervable. Many of them have been conſpicuous for the virtues becoming their high ſtation; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made ſome atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predeceſſors. Thus the beneficial influences of the Reformation have been more extenſive than they appear on a ſuperficial view; and this great diviſion in the Chriſtian church hath contributed, in ſome meaſure, to increaſe purity of manners, to diffuſe ſcience, and to inſpire humanity. Hiſtory recites ſuch a number of ſhocking events, occaſioned by religious diſſenſions, that it muſt afford particular ſatisfaction to trace any one ſalutary or beneficial effect to that ſource, from which ſo many fatal calamities have flowed.

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State of the republick of Venice.

THE republick of Venice which, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, had appeared ſo formidable, that almoſt all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its deſtruction, declined gradually from its ancient power and ſplendour. The Venetians not only loſt a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigour of the ſtate were exhauſted by their extraordinary and long continued efforts in their own defence; and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay, without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal conſequences to their republick, which the ſagacity of the Venetian ſenate foreſaw on the firſt diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, took place. Their endeavours to prevent the Portugueſe from eſtabliſhing themſelves in the Eaſt-Indies, not only by exciting the Soldans of Egypt and the Ottoman monarchs to turn their arms againſt ſuch dangerous intruders, but by affording ſecret aid to the infidels in order to inſure their ſucceſs [z], proved ineffectual. The activity and valour of the Portugueſe ſurmounted every obſtacle, and obtained ſuch firm footing in that fertile country, as ſecured to them large poſſeſſions, together with influence ſtill more extenſive. Liſbon, inſtead of Venice, became the ſtaple for the precious commodities of the Eaſt. The Venetians, after having poſſeſſed for many years the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almoſt any ſhare in it. The diſcoveries of the Spaniards in the weſtern world, proved no leſs fatal to inferior branches of their commerce. The original defects which were formerly pointed out in the conſtitution of the Venetian republick continued, and the diſadvantages with which it undertook any great enterprize, increaſed rather than diminiſhed. The ſources from which it derived its extraordinary riches and power being dried up, the interior vigour of the ſtate declined, and of courſe, rendered its external operations leſs formidable. Long before the middle of the ſixteenth century, Venice ceaſed to be one of the principal powers in Europe, and became a ſecondary and ſubaltern ſtate. But as the ſenate had the addreſs to conceal its diminution of power, under the veil

[z] Freher. Script. Rer. German. vol. ii. 529.

of

of moderation and caution; as it made no raſh effort that could diſcover its impotence; as the ſymptoms of political decay in ſtates are not ſoon obſerved, and are ſeldom ſo apparent to their neighbours as to occaſion any ſudden alteration in their conduct towards them, Venice continued long to be conſidered and reſpected. She was treated not according to her preſent condition, but according to the rank which ſhe had formerly held. Charles, as well as the monarchs of France his rivals, courted her aſſiſtance with emulation and ſolicitude in all their enterprizes. Even down to the cloſe of the century, Venice remained not only an object of attention, but a conſiderable ſeat of political negotiation and intrigue.

Of Tuſcany.

THAT authority which the firſt Coſmo di Medici, and Lawrence, his grandſon, had acquired in the republick of Florence by their beneficence and abilities, inſpired their deſcendants with the ambition of uſurping the ſovereignty in their country, and paved their way towards it. Charles placed Alexander di Medici at the head of the republick, and to the natural intereſt and power of the family added the weight and credit of the Imperial protection. Of theſe, his ſucceſſor Coſmo, ſirnamed the Great, availed himſelf; and eſtabliſhing his ſupreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican conſtitution, he tranſmitted that, together with the title of Grand Duke of Tuſcany, to his deſcendants. Their dominions were compoſed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Piſa, and Siena, and formed one of the moſt reſpectable of the Italian ſtates.

A. D. 1530.

Of the dukes of Savoy.

THE dukes of Savoy, during the former part of the ſixteenth century, poſſeſſed territories which were not conſiderable either for extent or value; and the French, having ſeized the greater part of them, obliged the reigning duke to retire for ſafety to the ſtrong fortreſs of Nice, where he ſhut himſelf up for ſeveral years; while his ſon, the Prince of Piedmont, endeavoured to better his fortune, by ſerving as an adventurer in the armies of Spain. The peace of Chateau Cambreſis reſtored to him his paternal dominions. As theſe are environed on every hand by powerful neighbours, all whoſe motions the dukes of Savoy muſt obſerve with the greateſt attention, in order not only to guard againſt the danger of being ſurprized and overpowered, but that they may chooſe their ſide with diſcernment in thoſe quarrels wherein it is impoſſible

Book XII. ble for them to avoid taking part, this peculiarity in their ſituation ſeems to have had no inconſiderable influence on their character. By rouzing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the ſtretch, and engaging them in almoſt continual action, it hath formed a race of Princes more ſagacious in diſcovering their true intereſt, more deciſive in their reſolutions, and more dextrous in availing themſelves of every occurrence which preſented itſelf, than any perhaps that can be ſingled out in the hiſtory of mankind. By gradual acquiſitions the Dukes of Savoy have added to their territories as well as to their own importance; and aſpiring at length to regal dignity, which they obtained about half a century ago, they hold no inconſiderable rank among the monarchs of Europe.

Of the United Provinces.

THE territories which now form the republick of the united Netherlands, were loſt during the firſt part of the ſixteenth century, among the numerous provinces ſubject to the houſe of Auſtria; and were then ſo inconſiderable, that hardly one opportunity of mentioning them hath occurred in all the buſy period of this hiſtory. But ſoon after the peace of Chateau Cambreſis, the violent and bigotted maxims of Philip's government, carried into execution with unrelenting vigour by the duke of Alva, exaſperated the free people of the Low-Countries to ſuch a degree, that they threw off the Spaniſh yoke, and aſſerted their ancient liberties and laws. Theſe they defended with a perſevering valour, which occupied the arms of Spain during half a century, exhauſted the vigour, ruined the reputation of that monarchy, and at laſt conſtrained their ancient maſters to recognize and to treat with them as a free independent ſtate. This ſtate founded on liberty, and reared by induſtry and œconomy, had grown into reputation, even while ſtruggling for its exiſtence. But when peace and ſecurity allowed it to enlarge its views, and to extend its commerce, it roſe to be one of the moſt reſpectable as well as enterprizing powers in Europe.

THE tranſactions of the kingdoms in the North of Europe, have been ſeldom attended to in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Of Ruſſia.

RUSSIA remained buried in that barbariſm and obſcurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the preſent century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great,

Great, who made his country known and formidable to the reſt of Europe. Book XII.

Of Denmark and Sweden.

In Denmark and Sweden, during the reign of Charles V. great revolutions happened in their conſtitutions, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. In the former kingdom, a tyrant being degraded from the throne and expelled the country, a new Prince was called by the voice of the people to aſſume the reins of government. In the latter, a fierce people, rouzed to arms by injuries and oppreſſion, ſhook off the Daniſh yoke, and conferred the regal dignity on its deliverer, Guſtavus Ericſon, who had all the virtues of a hero and of a patriot. Denmark, exhauſted by foreign wars, or weakened by the diſſentions between the King and the nobles, became incapable of ſuch efforts as were requiſite in order to recover the aſcendant which it had long poſſeſſed in the North of Europe. Sweden, as ſoon as it was freed from the dominion of ſtrangers, began to recruit its ſtrength, and acquired in a ſhort time ſuch interior vigour, that it became the firſt kingdom in the North. Early in the ſubſequent century, it roſe to ſuch a high rank among the powers of Europe, that it had the chief merit both in forming and conducting that powerful league, which protected not only the Proteſtant religion, but the liberties of Germany againſt the bigotry and ambition of the houſe of Auſtria.

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AND THE

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ROBINSON COLLECTION CAMB UNIV

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TO THE

REIGN of the Emperor CHARLES V.

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